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THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

THE
NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE
AND
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OF THE
ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

EDITED BY

J. ALLAN, M.A., F.S.A.

KEEPER OF COINS, BRITISH MUSEUM

HAROLD MATTINGLY, M.A.

AND

E. S. G. ROBINSON, M.A., F.S.A.

DEPUTY KEEPER OF COINS, BRITISH MUSEUM

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CONTENTS.

ANCIENT NUMISMATICS.

	PAGE
CLARKE, RAINBIRD.—A Theodosian Coin Hoard from Norfolk	255, 320
GRUEBER, THE LATE H. A.—The Southsea Find of Fourth-Century Silver Coins (edited by J. ALLAN)	292
HERZFELDER, HUBERT.—The Cistophori of Hadrian	1
HILL, SIR GEORGE.—The Supposed Idalian Stater of Argalos	88
MILNE, J. G.—On Dies in North-west Greece	254
——— Notes on the Oxford Collection: (2) Mysia, Troas, and Aeolis	281
MATTINGLY, HAROLD.—The Palmyrene Princes and the Mints of Antioch and Alexandria	89
MYRES, J. N. L., AND SUTHERLAND, C. H. V.—A Hoard of Roman Coins from Ham Hill, Somerset	30
O'NEIL, B. H. ST. J.—The Cleeve Prior Hoard of 1811	314
PEARCE, J. W. E.—A New Hoard of <i>Siliquae</i> from Icklingham	257
——— Roman Site-Finds from Cirencester	261
ROBERTSON, MISS ANNE S.—A Hoard of Theodosian Coins from Laxton, Northants.	156
——— A Find of Constantinian Coins from Caister by Yarmouth	164
——— A Hoard of Constantinian Coins from Langwith, York	235
——— A Find from Shapwick, Somerset	245
——— Coins from near Bridport, Dorset	250
ROBINSON, E. S. G.—British Museum Acquisitions for the years 1933-34	169
——— A Find of Archaic Coins from South-west Asia Minor	265
——— Coins from Petra, &c.	288

	PAGE
SUTHERLAND, C. H. V.—A Late Roman Hoard from Kiddington, Oxon.	82
——— The Hayle Hoard of Radiate Minimi	202
——— A Roman Hoard from Eynsham, Oxon.	251
——— Three Roman Coin Hoards	316

ENGLISH NUMISMATICS.

ALLEN, DEREK.—The Boynton Find of Coins of Edward I and II	115
DUNNING, G. C.—A Note on the Boynton Jug	155
——— A Note on the Dunfermline Jug	308
FARQUHAR, MISS HELEN.—New Light on Thomas Simon	210
LAWRENCE, L. A.—A Small Hoard of Silver Pennies found at Dunfermline in 1896	304
——— Notes on the Society's History	310

ORIENTAL NUMISMATICS.

WALKER, JOHN.—The History and Coinage of the Sultans of Kilwa	43
——— Is the Caliph bare-headed on Umayyad Coins?	321

REVIEWS.

GREN, ERIK.—Der Münzfund von Viminacium	330
MATTINGLY, HAROLD.—Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum. Vol. III	324
MILNE, J. G.—Oxfordshire Seventeenth-Century Tokens	336
ULRICH-BANSA, O.—Note sulla Zecca di Aquileia Romana	333
WEBER, WILHELM.—Princeps: Studien zur Geschichte des Augustus. Vol. I	335

LIST OF PLATES CONTAINED IN VOL. XVI.

- I-VII. Cistophori of Hadrian.
VIII-IX. The Coinage of Kilwa.
X-XI. Roman Mints under Palmyrenes.
XII-XIII. British Museum Greek Acquisitions, 1933-4.
XIV. Coins from South-west Asia Minor.
XV-XVI. Coins in the Oxford Collection.
XVII. Coins from Petra, &c.
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PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY (separately paged)

LIST OF FELLOWS (separately paged).

I.
THE CISTOPHORI OF HADRIAN.

[SEE PLATES I-VII.]

THE imperial cistophori of Asia Minor form a curious class of coins within the issues of the Roman Empire. The irregularity with which they were issued makes them stand apart, and many students hesitate to consider them as Roman coins at all. Originally, of course, they were Greek tetradrachms, but in time they were adapted to suit the requirements of the Roman standard and were assimilated to the usual pattern of Roman imperial coinage with the emperor's head on the obverse and varying types on the reverse. Their value was three denarii. Large silver coins were obviously one of the main types of coins used in Asia and we find imperial Rome issuing them in Antioch and Caesarea with Greek inscriptions; the inscriptions on cistophori are Latin and thus show their close connexion with the central government. We shall see that many reverse types point to local mints, that in fact a large number of mints can be located all over the province of Asia, but in no case can we assume that the coins were issued by Greek civic authorities, as was the case with the enormous amount of bronze coinage minted for local purposes. The cistophori were meant for general circulation within the province, or possibly all over Asia Minor. We must think in their case of a highly decentralized organization of mints working under the orders of the Roman governor, or of the *Commune Asiae* under Roman influence.

Before Hadrian various emperors had issued cistophori, but their types had been fairly uniform, alluding to the cult of the emperor and Roma, to the army, rarely to divinities of Asia Minor. These earlier cistophori are all very similar in fabric and point to one or perhaps two mints, which must have been located in Ephesus and possibly Pergamum. The widespread establishment of mints producing a great wealth of different types in various styles only comes in the reign of Hadrian. Most of these later coins were overstruck on the older cistophori, chiefly of Mark Antony and Augustus; for what reason has not yet been adequately explained. The reverse types of the coins display a fascinating series of the principal divinities and heroes venerated in the province, Greek and Asiatic elements are mixed, pre-Greek idols of Hittite and Semitic descent appear side by side with the statues of recognized Graeco-Roman deities. The variety of types and the obvious interest taken in the representation of the old "xoana" of the province seem to suggest inspiration from above, possibly even from the emperor himself. Hadrian's deep interest in research make him comparable to a scholar of modern days. It is well known that the emperor travelled extensively and twice visited Asia Minor. The title of "Pater Patriae" accepted by him in A.D. 128 appears on the bulk of his cistophori, and it is conceivable therefore that Hadrian on his second voyage in A.D. 129, impressed by the antiquities of the places he visited, fascinated as was his nature by all that was mysterious, local, and primitive, himself took the initiative in the institution of this coinage.

But the emperor was at the same time a very

practical man. Coins had for a long time been used as a medium of propaganda. The emperors had displayed on them their official political programmes, the revolutionary armies of A.D. 68-69 their promises and demands. Perhaps it was here intended to encourage the worship of the Graeco-Roman divinities by showing them on the main silver currency of the province, in order to spread a wider knowledge of their cults, which were particularly dear to Hadrian. Their prestige was perhaps gradually vanishing as undoubtedly Syrian and Persian religions had already widely begun to capture the imagination of the Asiatic population; Christianity, Mithraism, and other faiths penetrated into the province.

The variety of styles in which these Hadrianic cistophori were produced is very large; they range from beautiful portraits of the emperor, comparable to the products of the Roman mint, to rough and inartistic heads which hardly bear any likeness to the emperor. Those reverse types, which are of a more general nature, for instance a legionary eagle between two standards, are found in a series of distinctive fabrics in which in spite of the uniform design the differences in treatment are correspondingly well defined. This fact and the variety of locally important types bring us to the conclusion that we must necessarily look for various mints. But although many mints must have existed it is extremely rare to find cistophori with an inscription which gives the mint's name. This is only natural, as the coins were current everywhere and not confined to the place of issue.

So far the question where these mints must be

located has never been seriously attacked. Pinder,¹ who was the first author to catalogue all the available cistophori, mentions occasionally a probable mint, but as he overlooks all stylistic considerations he is frequently wrong; yet his book is still the standard work on the subject. In his numerous works Imhoof-Blumer frequently mentions Hadrianic cistophori. Notably in his little work *Zur griechischen und römischen Münzkunde* (1908) he describes many and ascribes them to various mints as a rule very correctly.²

The province of Asia was divided by the Romans into a number of "conventus", and the attempt has been made³ to identify the centres of these "conventus" with the cistophoric mints. This is incidentally sometimes possible, but only by chance; for example, Ephesus is the centre of a "conventus" and a cistophoric mint; Mylasa on the other hand, though undoubtedly a mint, was never the centre of a "conventus". Strabo informs us⁴ that this division of the province was a Roman measure, whereas the revival of the widespread coinage of the cistophori seems more in line with Greek sentiment. Therefore it seems safer to look for these mints in the old cities which issued this class of coins in the days of the Pergamene kingdom; and indeed many analogies can be found.

Pinder and Imhoof-Blumer both relied exclusively on the individual reverse types for their conclusions. But these are a very deceptive guide. It is true that

¹ Pinder, W., *Über die Cistophoren*, Berlin, 1856.

² Imhoof-Blumer, F., "Zur griechischen und römischen Münzkunde", in *Rev. Suisse de Num.*, 1905, pp. 161 ff., and 1908, pp. 1 ff.

³ Marquardt.

⁴ Strabo, xiii. 629.

certain divinities point specially to one single place, but they had also worshippers in every town all over the country and accordingly appear on the civic coinage of innumerable places. Mên, the god of the moon, is one of them and Apollo Tyrimnaïos, who originates from Thyatira, another, to mention only purely Asiatic divinities. The study of local bronze is obviously highly important in this connexion, but one phenomenon should be stressed at the outset: even when we know that in certain towns cistophori were issued at the same time as bronze, it is in most cases impossible to detect an artistic or stylistic resemblance between the two classes of coins. In Aphrodisias, for instance, under Hadrian, cistophori and bronze show the same devices, yet Hadrian's heads are totally different on the two series.

The study of die-links, the necessity of which is now undisputed in Greek numismatics, is of equal importance in this class of Roman coinage. A great number of die-links exists, as will be seen in the subsequent pages,⁵ and they are our best guide to the formation of certain groups of coins, which may be attributed to single mints. Various interlinking reverse types necessarily point more clearly to a definite mint than an isolated specimen.

If all the existing coins of this class could be collected, enough evidence might be forthcoming to distribute finally with the help of mythological and

⁵ C. Bosch, in *Die kleinasiatischen Münzen der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Leipzig, 1935, p. 174, says: "Unter allen Münzen dieser Klasse [cistophori] bithynischen und asiatischen, finden sich, soweit eine Vergleichung möglich ist, nicht zwei stempelgleiche Vorderseiten verschiedener Typen." He is mistaken.

stylistic research the coins of this class among the towns of the province of Asia. This paper is only a beginning and lays no claim to finality.

Strabo⁶ gives an exact description of the divinities worshipped in Mylasa, whom we also find depicted on the bronze coins issued by the civic mint of the town. They are Zeus Osogoa and Zeus Labrandeus or Stratios. These gods also appear on certain cistophori, thus enabling us to locate a mint of cistophori at Mylasa. But not only literary sources and the comparison with civic bronze make this ascription probable; the uniformity of style of these coins, which is distinct from all other cistophori, and the use of an obverse⁷ die [Pl. I. 1] with both types of reverses make our conclusion decisive.

Osogoa⁸ [Pl. I. 2], who in Roman times was frequently called Zenoposeidon, was possibly the original god of the Carians, who were a seafaring nation. As his graecized name already indicates, he combines the attributes of the god of the sky and of the sea, the eagle with the trident and crab.

Labrandeus⁹ [Pl. I. 1], whose name probably derives from his double-axe, the *λάβρυς*, was probably a successor to the Hittite sky-god, whose double-axe he had inherited. The coins show what is obviously the old cult-statue, venerated in the temple outside Mylasa; its aspect is similar to that of many other cult-statues of the province.

⁶ Strabo, xiv. 659.

⁷ B.M.C., *Coins of the Roman Empire*, by Harold Mattingly, vol. iii. 1064, the Berlin specimen of B.M.C., p. 389, §, and finally B.M.C., 1063 (unique).

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 389, §.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 1064.

Combined with the same obverse die mentioned above there was also used a third reverse die,¹⁰ showing another type of Zeus, this time with shield and spear [Pl. I. 3]. Professor Cook¹¹ mentions this god, citing a unique bronze coin of this type in Berlin, and calls him a complete fusion of Zeus Osogoa and Zeus Labrandeus. I should prefer to see here the Zeus Karios mentioned by Strabo¹² as the inhabitant of a third sanctuary in or near Mylasa.

Thus literary, numismatic, and archaeological sources combine to make the location of a mint at Mylasa a certainty. The mint was probably of small dimensions. The few dies which were used were undoubtedly cut by the same hand; their style is extraordinarily good compared with the products of other mints which we shall examine later. The great similarity of the Mylasian dies teaches us to look to stylistic similarities as a criterion in attributing different reverse types to a single mint, even though die-links cannot be established. Die-engravers cannot have been very numerous, and in most cases they seem to have confined their work to one mint. In Asia Minor the migration of artists can in no case be definitely ascertained as it can in other branches of Greek numismatics.¹³

Small cistophoric mints in Caria were probably located in Alabanda and Aphrodisias. In both cases we have only the similarity of the type to that of the civic bronze coins to rely on for our ascription. In

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1063.

¹¹ A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, ii, p. 576.

¹² Strabo, xiv. 659: τρίτον δ' ἐστὶν ἱερὸν τοῦ Καρίου Διὸς κοινὸν πάντων Καρῶν. . . .

¹³ Compare the migrations of Euainetos in Sicily in the fifth century B.C.

each case the style of the coins thus attributed is peculiar to the one issue and does not recur on any other Hadrianic cistophori.

The reverse type on the cistophori of Alabanda¹⁴ is Apollo, the god of prophecy [Pl. I. 4]. Exactly as on a coin issued under Caracalla¹⁵ he holds a raven and an olive-branch. In front of the goddess of Aphrodisias¹⁶ [Pl. I. 8] stands a little Eros, a hellenistic addition to the old idol of the town, which is shown in side view just as on a contemporary bronze coin.¹⁷ This Aphrodite is certainly a pre-Greek divinity, a sister of the idols of Sardes and Ephesus; the moon and a star accompany her just as they accompany the Sardian "xoanon". She is the Astarte or Ishtar of the Semites, the goddess of the moon and of fecundity of the Easterns; the star accompanying her is Phaethon, our star Venus, whom Aphrodite abducted from his parents and made guardian of her sanctuary during the night.

Three types of cistophori were issued at Miletus which was honoured by a personal visit of Hadrian. Twice Apollo Didymaios the local divinity is shown, once sideways [Pl. I. 6] and once facing in his temple¹⁸ [Pl. I. 7]; the third type is devoted to Diana Miliesia¹⁹ [Pl. I. 5]. Didymaios had naturally always been connected with the town, although his representation on these coins varies somewhat from the ordinary, as his

¹⁴ B.M.C., *R.E.*, iii. 1056.

¹⁵ B.M.C., *Caria, Alabanda*, 38.

¹⁶ B.M.C., *R.E.*, iii. 1077.

¹⁷ B.M.C., *Caria, Aphrodisias*, 104.

¹⁸ B.M.C., *R.E.*, iii, p. 85, n.*, and B.M.C., 1082.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1062.

usual short archaic statue²⁰ is here transformed into a graceful youth. Diana Milesia had been confounded with her Ephesian sister until Imhoof-Blumer²¹ pointed to an identical representation on a Milesian bronze. As at Mylasa a final proof for the identity of the mint is furnished by an obverse die which is coupled with all the three reverses.²²

The heads on these Milesian cistophori show a curiously long throat, which seems confined to this mint. The habit of placing the local statue in a temple was widespread. Besides Miletus we know various other examples: Ephesus, Smyrna, Sardes, and an unknown mint—possibly Pergamum.

Contrary to the practice hitherto described in cistophoric mints the name of Sardes, the ancient capital of Lydia, figures on the reverse of a coin of our class. It shows the idol venerated at this town in its temple,²³ and, beneath, the inscription **SARD** [Pl. I. 10], thus combining religious and inscriptional evidence for locating a mint in Sardes. More frequently we find the idol without its temple [Pl. I. 9];²⁴ it is often called Proserpina and under the Antonines the name of Koré actually appears. But the idol really represents the Persian Artemis, heir to the Lydian Cybebé, the great indigenous earth-mother.²⁵ Here she appears under the form of a conical stone, beautifully decorated, accompanied by the appropriate attribute of

²⁰ B.M.C., *Ionia, Miletus*, 137 ff.

²¹ Imhoof-Blumer, *Griechische u. römische Münzkunde*, p. 165.

²² Hollschek specimen of B.M.C., 1082, Trau Sale, 1105, and Paris specimen of B.M.C., 1062.

²³ B.M.C., *R.E.*, iii, p. 392, n.† (Munich).

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 1075.

²⁵ Cf. G. Radet, *L'Artemision de Sardes*, Bordeaux, 1909.

corn-ears; on local bronze the moon and a star are depicted above her.²⁶

To the first type an obverse die links another reverse²⁷ which must therefore also be attributed to Sardes.²⁸ It shows a female divinity walking to r., holding a long sceptre [Pl. I. 11]. She has usually been called Ceres, though Imhoof-Blumer²⁹ pointed out that she might be Hera; sometimes she is accompanied by a star, and therefore, considering the connexion of the Sardinian Cybehé idol with a star, we suspect that the walking goddess is the same as the idol, only modernized and adapted to Graeco-Roman standards.

Although Sardes apparently issued only three reverse types, like Mylasa or Miletus, her output seems to have been considerably greater, as befitted her greater political and economic importance. The Sardinian cistophori are far more common than the ones mentioned above, and many more obverse dies were used at this mint. Whereas die-links are frequent at the mints hitherto mentioned only one has been found in the Sardinian series.

So far we have been able to support our distribution of cistophori to single mints by the unquestionable mechanical evidence of die-links. But now we must turn to some of the more important mints, and here we have to rely upon considerations of style and on our knowledge of local cults to guide us in our determination.

²⁶ Radet, *loc. cit.*; Gordus, Pl. II. 5.

²⁷ B.M.C., *R.E.*, iii. 1078 *bis*.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 1078 *bis*, and Munich specimen of B.M.C., p. 392, §.

²⁹ Imhoof-Blumer, *loc. cit.*, p. 171.

A fairly large mint was situated at Smyrna. The chief cult, in fact almost the emblem of the city, was that of the Nemeses. On a unique cistophorus³⁰ we find them in a temple, similar to that of the Sardian idol, and here again the mint is named on the coin: SMVR [Pl. II. 1]. Smyrna was probably the place where Nemesis had been first venerated; her double appearance has been explained as referring to old Smyrna and the new Smyrna, founded by Alexander the Great. The Nemeses on these coins reproduce perhaps the actual "much revered statues of the Smyrnaeans" as Pausanias³¹ calls them. Their modern, hellenistic style is obviously explained by the recent refoundation of the city.

Coins with this reverse type, showing merely the two Nemeses,³² are the commonest of all Smyrnaean cistophori [Pl. II. 4]. There exists a large number of dies, the reverse type is also frequent on civic bronze.³³ An obverse die of this group is coupled with a reverse showing a seated Cybebé³⁴ [Pl. II. 4-5]. Thus the series with the Cybebé reverse can also be definitely assigned to the mint of Smyrna. Cybebé had a temple in the town, was widely worshipped, and appears often on the local small currency.

Many Smyrnaean civic issues show the image of a seated Zeus.³⁵ Of the various groups of cistophori with this picture, all of which differ considerably in style, only one can with great probability be connected

³⁰ B.M.C., *R.E.*, iii. 1083.

³¹ Pausanias, i, 33, 7.

³² B.M.C., *R.E.*, iii. 1074.

³³ Cp. B.M.C., *Ionia, Smyrna*, no. 151.

³⁴ B.M.C., *R.E.*, iii. 1059.

³⁵ Cp. B.M.C., *Ionia, Smyrna*, 133.

with Smyrna. The obverse dies of this group are so strikingly similar to that coupled with the reverse type of the Nemeses in their temple [Pl. II. 1-2], that we must assume that the same man engraved both. The Zeus on the reverse of these coins holds a small statuette of Diana Ephesia.³⁶ This can hardly be considered an argument for Ephesus as the possible mint, for another type of seated Zeus is definitely Ephesian and very different from our group. It is more likely to be the homage of the Smyrnaeans to the neighbouring divinity, who incidentally was revered all over Asia Minor. Similarly, the numerous civic alliance coins of Asiatic communities almost invariably display the chief divinities of both cities on their reverses.

A second group of cistophori with a seated Zeus on the reverse, this time holding a Victory³⁷ [Pl. II. 3], also show vague similarities to the usual Smyrnaean style. But the fabric is much flatter, the modelling of the god's body less accurate, the heads on the obverse sometimes remarkably poor. It seems doubtful whether the evidence for Smyrna is sufficient, especially as this type of Zeus is common all over the province. Perhaps these coins belong to Apamea, where similar representations are fairly frequent.³⁸

It is more probable that the coins with the eagle on the thunderbolt³⁹ belong to Smyrna [Pl. II. 6]. The device is the usual one of the civic mint in the time of Hadrian,⁴⁰ the design of the emperor's head is similar to certain definitely Smyrnaean issues, and the trunca-

³⁶ B.M.C., *R.E.*, iii. 388, n.† (Vienna).

³⁸ Cp. B.M.C., *Phrygia, Apamea*, 159.

³⁹ B.M.C., *R.E.*, iii. 1079-1080.

⁴⁰ Cp. B.M.C., *Ionia, Smyrna*, 165 ff.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 1069.

tion line of the neck with two little points at the back may be considered typical of Smyrna.

Thus we find in this town a mint considerably larger than those we have examined before. Three reverse types undoubtedly belong to this mint, and two others can be ascribed to it with great probability, though, as long as we are unable to discover further die-links, without absolute certainty.

The most important centre of the province was Ephesus, where a mint of cistophori had been established for more than three centuries. A large class of these coins, issued under Hadrian, can be assigned to this town beyond any doubt. Their distinguishing mark is the obverse inscription **HADRIANVS AVG COS III P P** which is confined to the Ephesian coins exclusively. The reverse inscription is always related to the divinity shown, in all cases a properly Ephesian type.

Diana Ephesia appears on three different types, always with the legend **DIANA EPHESIA**. One type merely gives her cult-statue, the venerable archaic "xoanon", appearing time and again on all classes of coins of the province ⁴¹ [Pl. II. 7]. The goddess of Ephesus undoubtedly commanded the greatest number of worshippers of all the native divinities, her cult was the greatest of Asia. The other two types show the statue in her temple, usually tetrastyle ⁴² [Pl. III. 3] and more rarely hexastyle ⁴³ [Pl. II. 9]. The great variety of styles and—with one exception—the total absence of die-links between the different types indicate a great

⁴¹ B.M.C., *R.E.*, iii. 1089-1090.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 1091-1093.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 394, note 1091 (Vienna).

output of coins for this mint and the employment of a great number of engravers for the preparation of the dies.

Two other coins, also showing the particular Ephesian obverse inscription, have reverse types of purely local origin. The *FORTVNA EPHESIA*⁴⁴ [Pl. III. 1] is a civic personification and the *IOVIS OLYMPIVS*⁴⁵ [Pl. III. 2] appears also on Ephesian civic bronze with the inscription *ΖΕΥΣ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΣ*. Perhaps he had an important temple in the town.

Certain stylistical resemblances seem to indicate that a unique coin with a Diana carrying a bow and arrows⁴⁶ [Pl. III. 4], although showing a different inscription, also belongs to Ephesus.

The one die-link between different Ephesian coin-types mentioned above is one in which an obverse die is combined with the two reverses, the cult-statue standing alone and in a tetrastyle temple. The style of these two coins is singularly coarse and stands apart among Ephesian products⁴⁷ [Pl. II. 8]. As has been said, the cult of Diana Ephesia was very popular all over the province and adopted by innumerable towns as their coin-device. It is therefore possible that these two coins belong to a small local mint, for there is plenty of evidence, as we shall see later, to enable us to ascribe coins with the Ephesian civic device to a non-Ephesian mint.

There exists a small class of hybrid⁴⁸ coins of

⁴⁴ B.M.C., *R.E.*, iii, p. 395, n.* (Paris).

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 395, n.† (Munich).

⁴⁶ Trau Sale, 1935, no. 1108.

⁴⁷ Rome variety of B.M.C., 1089, and Trau specimen (1120) of B.M.C., 1093.

⁴⁸ In calling these coins hybrid we only mean that they do not

Ephesus which combine the usual reverses with an obverse type similar to those of other mints, thus omitting the consular title⁴⁹ [Pl. III. 3]. Their style is mostly purely Ephesian and therefore we may assume that these dies were the result of the carelessness of an engraver who used a non-Ephesian model. One of these hybrid coins, however, which survives in only one specimen,⁵⁰ differs from the rest; the emperor's head is laureate, a detail otherwise unknown in Ephesus, the style peculiar [Pl. III. 5]. This same obverse die is combined with a reverse showing six corn-ears⁵¹ and closely related to a strikingly similar obverse, combined with a reverse die showing Roma seated on arms⁵² [Pl. III. 6, 7]. Both, corn-ears and Roma, are very ordinary types which cannot be related to any particular mint, and it may well be that this little compact group is a special issue of the Ephesian mint. But if complete difference of style signifies a difference of mint we shall be obliged to look outside Ephesus for its origin.

Considering the importance of Pergamum in comparison with most of the mints examined so far, it is astonishing to find only one type which seems definitely Pergamene: the city's chief god Asklepios. This god appears on several cistophori which can easily be divided into two groups. One, of ordinary Asiatic style, shows dies of varying quality but uniform

agree with the usual type of inscription, not that dies have been used together which were not meant to be so used.

⁴⁹ B.M.C., *R.E.*, iii, p. 393, n.* (Munich).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 393, n.* (Herzfelder).

⁵¹ Copenhagen variety of B.M.C., p. 391, n.||.

⁵² B.M.C., *R.E.*, iii. 1076, Munich variety.

appearance⁵³ [Pl. III. 8]. There seems to be no doubt as to the mint from which these coins originate, only they are too few to account for all the series of so large a city as Pergamum.

The second group with the same reverse type is of excellent style, reminiscent of products of the Roman mint. The portrait of the emperor is exceedingly fine, the shape of his head most elegantly rendered [Pl. IV. 1]. To assign these coins to the same mint as the first group raises considerable difficulties. These do not lie in the remarkable difference of style, for this can be explained by the varying skill of engravers, but in the fact that they undoubtedly come from the same mint as coins showing definitely non-Pergamene types: Diana Ephesia⁵⁴ [Pl. IV. 2 and 4] and Nemesis⁵⁵ [Pl. IV. 3]. The similarity of the obverse dies combined with these three reverse types shows beyond doubt the work of the same hands. A travelling artist working at three mints will hardly explain it, especially as the types show slight varieties from the native Ephesian and Smyrnaean ones. The Ephesian idol on the dies with COS III shows a more human shape, with marked hips and naturalistic arms, than in Ephesus proper, the Nemesis is single. Two artists seem to have been at work to produce this class: one made some of the Asklepios coins, the Diana with COS III and the Nemesis. He is obviously the more skilled artist [Pl. IV. 1-3]; the other made the remaining Asklepios coins and the Diana with the inscription DIANA EPHESIA COS III [Pl. IV. 4-5]. The interesting "restoration"

⁵³ B.M.C., *R.E.*, iii, *ibid.*, 1053.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 1061, and B.M.C., 1085.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 1073 bis.

coin for Augustus⁵⁶ with the figure of Hadrian on the reverse calling him **HADRIANVS AVG P P REN** belongs undoubtedly to the first artist [Pl. IV. 6]. To verify this it is only necessary to compare the shapes of the two heads and the attitude of Hadrian with that of Asklepios. Thus it seems to be proved that different divinities of definitely "foreign" origin were shown on various reverses of one mint. Whether Pergamum was the mint of this class cannot be ascertained; surely this is a case similar to the above-mentioned one of Smyrna, where homage was paid to the divine patrons of neighbouring communities. In view of the importance of the city and the scarcity of the other coins from its mint Pergamum seems the probable place of origin of these coins. The only definite statement regarding these coins that can be safely made is that they belong to the north-west of the province. We have seen that the south-west favours outstandingly large heads while the products of the eastern mints form another distinctive group.

Another class possibly of Pergamene origin consists of the following coins: Roma, with her shield, standing, and on a unique coin the same goddess in a temple, the two linked by an obverse die of exceptional beauty⁵⁷ [Pl. IV. 7-8]. The style of this die is comparable to some of the definitely Pergamene Asklepios coins, although considerably finer. The temple of Roma and Augustus was situated in Pergamum, and this seems to support the localization of these coins in the city. Two further coins seem to belong to the same class.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 1094.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 1072 and p. 392, n.* (Paris unique).

The emperor's head is not laureate, but otherwise the portraiture is strikingly similar. Here, too, one obverse die is linked with two reverse types: Zeus seated r. on his throne holding Victory and sceptre and accompanied by an eagle,⁵⁸ and a standing Pax with sceptre and branch⁵⁹ [Pl. IV. 9-10]. The obverse inscription is HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS; whether this indicates a date previous to A.D. 128 or an inaccuracy of the engraver remains uncertain.

Apart from a few outstanding specimens the fabric of the cistophori minted in the east of the province is very flat, the portraits gradually lose all resemblance to the emperor and the lettering is rough. These criteria become clearer the more remote the mints are from the western coast.

Two mints can be localized in Phrygia beyond any doubt, several more remain questionable, but in all cases the evidence for the ascription rests mostly upon the civic bronze of the region.

Zeus Laodiceus, the protector of Laodicea ad Lycum, is the device of one of the most common types of Hadrianic cistophori⁶⁰ [Pl. V. 1]. The image of this god is so typical of its mother-town that no reasonable doubt can be entertained that Laodicea was one of the most active mints of the province. Further, there is a civic medallion, issued under Hadrian, which corresponds closely in type and style to our coins.⁶¹ Two engravers must have been at work, one, who succeeded in producing a few remarkably vigorous portraits,

⁵⁸ B.M.C., *R.E.*, iii, p. 383, n. a (Munich).

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 383, n. g (Vienna).

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 1066-1068.

⁶¹ Egger Sale, Vienna, May 1914, no. 1774.

another, whose dies show the flat expressionless style current in most Phrygian mints.

A small group of coins, which, so far, has never been separated from the ordinary Laodicean issues, shows a similar Zeus with eagle and sceptre, but he is half nude [Pl. V. 2]. In style these coins differ completely from the above mentioned. Although most dies are well engraved the portraits are typical of Phrygian issues: they are richly draped and very broad. Looking among civic bronze for a similar type of half-nude Zeus we find it in Aezanis in northern Phrygia.⁶² This town was the capital of a district and might well have been one of the small temporary mints of cistophori.

In style similar to some of these coins of Aezanis(?), though always of coarser workmanship, are the cistophori of Hierapolis. The standard type of this town was Apollo Kitharoedos⁶³ [Pl. V. 3], and, judging from the frequency with which these coins turn up, the mint of this town must have been one of the busiest. There also exist many contemporary forgeries—"subaerati"—which testify to the popularity of the Hierapolitan coins.

To this region, if not to Hierapolis herself, belong two other coins, which are certainly the product of one mint and which show many similarities to the rougher of the Hierapolitan dies. Unfortunately both coins are rarities, one being known in only one, the other in two specimens, and therefore no die-links can be established. Further specimens may clear up the point. The latter of these coins shows a reclining river-god,⁶⁴ which is naturally a very common type [Pl. V. 5].

⁶² B.M.C., *R.E.*, iii. 1065. Cp. B.M.C., *Phrygia, Aezanis*, 90.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 1054-1055.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 1078.

De Foville⁶⁵ ascribed it to Apamea, but it is hardly possible that the "second" town of the province, as Strabo⁶⁶ calls her, issued only one type of which so few specimens survive. Besides, the river-god may just as well represent the Chrysoroas of Hierapolis as the Marsyas of Apamea. Both appear on civic issues. The other type shows Mên,⁶⁷ an Asiatic lunar divinity, venerated all over the province [Pl. V. 4]. The home of his cult was probably Nysa in Lydia, but the style of this coin definitely localizes it in Phrygia. It is a common coin device everywhere, although in Hierapolis it appears only in much later times than the reign of Hadrian.⁶⁸

The same kind of flat, almost barbarous, style is seen on two coins from the same obverse die. The reverses are the figure of a male nude god holding double-axe and raven,⁶⁹ and a legionary eagle⁷⁰ between two standards [Pl. V. 7-8]. Pinder called the god Labrandeus and connected the coin with Mylasa. In reality it is Lairbenos,⁷¹ who, like Labrandeus, is an heir to the Hittite sky-god. Owing to a fault of the flan of the unique specimen known the god seems to have a beard, which naturally encouraged Pinder's mistake. The divinity was revered chiefly in Hierapolis and Eumeneia, and as it was the constant coin-type of the latter a mint in Eumeneia suggests itself. The legionary type linked

⁶⁵ De Foville, *R.N.*, 1903, pp. 47 ff.

⁶⁶ Strabo, xii. 576.

⁶⁷ B.M.C., *R.E.*, iii. 1070.

⁶⁸ Cp. B.M.C., *Phrygia, Hierapolis*, 90 ff.

⁶⁹ B.M.C., *R.E.*, iii, p. 387, 1065 n., "Vienna variant" (Cohen 277).

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 1081.

⁷¹ Cp. A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, ii, pp. 569 ff., calling this god also Apollo Tarseus or Bozenos.

to it can hardly help to determine the mint with greater certainty.

A further group in the same rough style of the region shows on the reverse a standing Roma⁷² [Pl. V. 6]. It seems impossible to suggest a definite name for the mint of these coins. Strong affinities exist with the river-god and Mên types, but to localize the coins as Phrygian is all that can be done.

Finally, two quite barbaric-looking coins may belong to Phrygia. Their obverse dies are identical; the reverses show Diana, once turned to the right with a quiver,⁷³ holding a bow, once standing left with a spear⁷⁴ [Pl. V. 9], in both cases accompanied by her stag.

For the remaining Asiatic cistophori no definite mint can be proposed and even the region to which they belong is mostly doubtful. The publication of numerous die-links may prove useful for further studies. For convenience we can define the following classes:

Class I. The two reverses belonging to this class are Dionysos⁷⁵ standing, pouring wine out of a kantharos over a leopard at his feet, and a seated Roma⁷⁶ [Pl. VI. 1-2]. The first type is common in Asia Minor, the second all over the Roman world. A common mint is proved by an obverse die coupled with both reverses. A variety of dies, all of fairly poor style, exists and indicates a rather active mint. On some coins the figure of Dionysos is smaller, the head of finer workmanship.⁷⁷ A head similar to the latter appears on

⁷² B.M.C., *R.E.*, iii. 1071.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 386, n.† (Paris).

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 386, n.* (Munich).

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 1057 and 1058.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 1076.

⁷⁷ Paris specimens of B.M.C., *R.E.*, iii. 1057-1058.

a unique coin with the emperor riding⁷⁸ on the reverse. It can hardly be ascertained whether the two varieties of style within this class signify a difference of artists or of mints. Many towns, as mentioned before, used Dionysos as their device; for this issue Thyatira seems the most probable mint. Both reverse types were used there on local currency in post-Hadrianic times, Dionysos under Lucius Verus,⁷⁹ Roma under Caracalla.⁸⁰ The cult of Dionysos was practised in Thyatira,⁸¹ which was the centre of a "conventus iuridicus" and one of the most important towns of the province.

The chief cult of Thyatira was devoted to Tyrimnaios, a local hero, usually carrying a double-axe, who was later identified with Apollo and Helios. He appears on a unique cistophorus⁸² of very peculiar style, definitely different from the coins just described [Pl. VI. 3]. Imhoof-Blumer,⁸³ after considering the coin Thyatiran, changed his mind and ascribed it to Hypaepa, where an identical coin-type was the standing device of the local issues.

Class II. An obverse die of rather isolated style, showing a draped bust of the emperor, is combined with two different reverses: a bundle of six corn-ears, and a legionary eagle between two standards⁸⁴ [Pl. VI. 4-5]. Neither type indicates a definite mint.

Class III. This class is divisible into three groups. The diversity of styles and types appearing in the

⁷⁸ B.M.C., *R.E.*, iii, Addenda.

⁷⁹ B.M.C., *Lydia*, *Thyatira*, 81.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 100.

⁸¹ Cf. Clerc, *De rebus Thyatirenorum*.

⁸² B.M.C., *R.E.*, iii, p. 385, note, "Berlin variant".

⁸³ Imhoof-Blumer, *loc. cit.*, p. 172.

⁸⁴ B.M.C., *R.E.*, iii, p. 391, note, Paris specimen and Vienna variety of B.M.C., 1081.

entire class, and the continually changing inscriptions, make these coins stand apart from all other Hadrianic cistophori. All of these coins seem to be unique, so that many more varieties connecting these groups may still be discovered. So far, the connexions between the three groups are only very vague and perhaps we must think of several mints. The only outstanding devices are the sacrificing Poseidon, a type that in Asia Minor tends to be Bithynian, and the triumphal arch. If one mint issued all these coins it must have been a very considerable one. These coins are not overstruck on older cistophori and might have been struck before the order for a widespread recoinage with uniform inscriptions was given.

Group (a). Two coins belong to this first group, both inscribed **AVGVSTVS HADRIANVS**. The emperor's portraits are by no means uniform; they are certainly the work of different engravers. The reverses, on the other hand, are very similar in style, their inscriptions identical, so that no doubt about their homogeneity can exist. One shows a seated *Fortuna*,⁸⁵ the other a standing *Ceres*; ⁸⁶ the legend is **P M TR P COS III** [Pl. VI. 6-7].

Group (b). The latter reverse slightly altered—*Ceres* in rather different dress holding a torch instead of a sceptre—appears with an obverse which belongs to a whole group of dies, obviously the work of one artist. The heads are fairly well engraved, but the likeness to Hadrian is only superficial. The first coin is inscribed **HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS P P** ⁸⁷ [Pl. VI.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 382, n. § (Munich).

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 1052.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 393, n. † (Berlin).

8]. The head is laureate. Almost the same portrait, but with the legend **AVGVSTVS HADRIANVS P P**, is linked with two different reverses: Poseidon sacrificing at altar⁸⁸ with the legend **COS III**, and a standing Fortuna^{88a} with **P M TR P COS III** [Pl. VI. 10-11]. Another obverse die, on which the emperor's head is not laureate, appears with a very similar Fortuna, inscribed **FORTVNA AVGVST**⁸⁹ [Pl. VI. 9].

Group (c). The type of Fortuna in Group (b) seems to establish a connexion with this third group. Here too we may presume that one engraver produced all the obverse dies. The portrait is much finer than before, always laureate and inscribed **HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS P P**; the reverse inscription is invariably **COS III**. The first coin, as already mentioned, has a Fortuna on the reverse.⁹⁰ A second obverse die is connected with three reverses: a triumphal arch⁹¹ decorated with prancing horses, a standing Fortuna,^{91a} and a bundle of six corn-ears⁹² [Pl. VI. 1-2]. Finally, there exists a coin with the common type of the legionary eagle and standards.⁹³

Whereas the cistophori hitherto discussed are of Asiatic origin the following seem to be more probably Bithynian. So far only the cistophori issued by the "Commune Bithyniae" have been assigned to this province, but there seems to be no reason why individual Bithynian towns should not have had cistophoric mints just as their Asiatic sisters had. Besides,

⁸⁸ B.M.C., *R.E.*, iii. 1086. ^{88a} *Ibid.*, 1088. ⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 1087.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 391, n.* (Ratto Sale, Lugano, 1928).

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 391, n.§ (Munich).

^{91a} *Ibid.*, p. 391 n.*.

⁹² Paris variety of *ibid.*, p. 391, §.

⁹³ Vienna variety of *ibid.*, 1091.

the following coins have particularities which do not appear among the Asiatic issues. None of them are overstruck on older cistophori, a practice which we find, with the exception of the last class, quite regularly in the Asiatic mints; the coins of the "Commune Bithyniae" never show signs of overstriking. In some cases the inscription is similar to that of the issues of definitely Bithynian origin and totally different from all Asiatic inscriptions; in other cases the types point to Bithynian mints. Finally, the style of most of these coins is better than that of the average Asiatic cistophori and comparable to that of the issues of the "Commune". Unfortunately we can in only one case name a probable mint, but this represents the first effort at separating Bithynian cistophori, not issued by the "Commune", from Asiatic issues.

Two coins in the Berlin Museum show a laureate bust of Hadrian, much the finest die and portrait of all surviving cistophori. The inscription is **IMP CAES TRA HADRIANO AVG P P**; the reverses show six corn-ears⁹⁴ and Ceres standing,⁹⁵ respectively [Pl. VII. 3-4]. This date in the obverse inscription is usual on the cistophori of the "Commune Bithyniae" and therefore an origin in this province seems likely.

The following class is ascribed to Bithynia for the same reasons; one obverse die in this class shows the same inscription as the previous class, the other one the ordinary **HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS P P**. In both cases the emperor's head is turned to the left and laureate; the style of both dies is excellent. The first

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 382, 1051 n., "Berlin variant".

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 382, 1051 n., "Berlin variant of B.M.C., 1052".

is linked with reverses showing a bunch of five corn-ears,⁹⁶ the second with similar corn-ears,⁹⁷ a standing Pax,⁹⁸ and COS III within a laurel wreath⁹⁹ [Pl. VII. 5-6].

Coins of very fine style and high relief show Herakles "Farnese"^{100a} as reverse type [Pl. VII. 7]. This type is very rare in Asia; in Bithynia it is common on local bronze, for instance at Cius and Heraclea Pontica.

Finally, we come to a group of coins which, as it seems, can be localized in Nicomedia Bithyniae. The uniform inscription of these coins is HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS, the heads are laureate, the style is flat. The most interesting reverse type is a standing female divinity, holding sceptre and patera,¹⁰⁰ at her feet a prow [Pl. VII. 9]. Linked to this by an identical obverse is a reverse showing a legionary eagle on thunderbolt between two standards¹⁰¹ [Pl. VII. 10]. Contrary to the customary type the shaft of the legionary eagle has been omitted. Further reverse types belonging to this group are Poseidon standing to the right, holding a trident and resting his foot on a prow [Pl. VII. 11],^{101a} and finally a poppy surrounded by four corn-ears.¹⁰² The two types showing divinities in connexion with prows of ships make it probable that the mint was situated in a maritime city. Imhoof-Blumer called the goddess Hera and identified her

⁹⁶ B.M.C., *R.E.*, iii. 1051.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 391, n. ||, Budapest specimen.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 391, n. † (Paris).

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1084.

^{99a} *Ibid.*, p. 387, n. * (Vienna).

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 383, n. f. (Vienna). ¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 383, n. i. (Munich)

^{101a} *Ibid.*, p. 383, n. b. (Munich). ¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 383, n. j. (Munich).

with the goddess shown on Samian local issues.¹⁰³ In Nicomedia cults of Hera and Demeter seem to have been particularly popular, as illustrated by civic coin-types,¹⁰⁴ and the goddess of this group is strikingly similar to these Nicomedian divinities; besides, prows appear in great numbers on the civic issues of the town and Poseidon is a common device. Thus we may consider Nicomedia as a cistophoric mint, possibly active even before A.D. 128, as the title of P P never occurs. The style of these coins is very different from those of the "Commune Bithyniae". Perhaps these coins may be associated with Hadrian's first visit to Bithynia in A.D. 125.

Now that we have described most of the known varieties of cistophori of Hadrian, a few remarks about a class of denarii probably struck in Asia may be in place. These coins of obviously non-Roman fabric naturally circulated all over the empire and were not confined to Asia Minor. A list of them up to date can be found in Strack's excellent book on the coinage of Hadrian.¹⁰⁵ These coins have been associated with the cistophoric mints. Their reverse types are in some cases reminiscent of our cistophori, for instance a standing Nemesis (Str. 37) and Poseidon with a prow (Str. 38). Most of the heads are laureate and the majority of these denarii seems to belong to the same mint as our Class III of uncertain origin. Others show a draped bust similar to that of Phrygian mints, but no real identity of style or type can be established.

¹⁰³ Imhoof-Blumer, *loc. cit.*, p. 170.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. B.M.C., *Mysia*, Pl. XXXIII. 2.

¹⁰⁵ P. Strack, *Zur römischen Reichsprägung des II. Jahrhunderts*, Teil II, *Die Reichsprägung des Hadrian*, Stuttgart, 1933.

Finally, the rare denarii with obverse inscription HADRIANVS AVG COS III P P and the reverse FORTVNA AVG., FORTVNAE REDVCI, and ITALIA may be Ephesian by analogy of obverse legends. Their style is different from the cistophori.

Many problems remain to be solved; to mention only one, no coins can be found for Apamea, which, in consideration of its importance, ought to have possessed a large mint. But many other mints seem definitely established and it is to be hoped that further connexions between the remaining "incerta" and other mints may be found in future.

I owe my sincerest thanks to all the keepers of public cabinets and private collections who have supplied me with casts of the coins described in this paper. I must especially thank Mr. Mattingly and Mr. Robinson of the British Museum for the constant help and advice they have given me.

HUBERT HERZFELDER.

KEY TO THE PLATES.

Pl. I. 1. B.M.	8. Paris.
2. Gotha.	9. Munich.
3. B.M.	10. Vienna.
4. B.M.	
5. B.M.	Pl. V. 1. Munich.
6. Berlin.	2. Vienna.
7. Hollschek.	3. B.M.
8. B.M.	4. B.M.
9. Berlin.	5. B.M.
10. Munich.	6. Vienna.
11. Trau.	7. Vienna.
	8. B.M.
	9. Munich.
Pl. II. 1. B.M.	
2. Munich.	Pl. VI. 1. B.M.
3. Rome.	2. Berlin.
4. Cast in B.M.	3. Berlin.
5. Cast in B.M.	4. Paris.
6. B.M.	5. Vienna.
7. Gotha.	6. Munich.
8. Trau.	7. B.M.
9. Vienna.	8. Berlin.
	9. B.M.
Pl. III. 1. Budapest.	10. B.M.
2. Munich.	11. B.M.
3. Munich.	
4. Trau.	Pl. VII. 1. Munich.
5. Herzfelder.	2. Paris.
6. Munich.	3. Berlin.
7. B.M.	4. Berlin.
8. Berlin.	5. Paris.
	6. B.M.
Pl. IV. 1. Trau.	7. Vienna.
2. B.M.	8. Vienna.
3. B.M.	9. Vienna.
4. Herzfelder.	10. Munich.
5. Munich.	11. Munich.
6. Cast in B.M.	
7. B.M.	

II.

A HOARD OF ROMAN COINS FROM HAM HILL, SOMERSET.

In 1930, when I was in temporary charge of the Library at Christ Church, Oxford, in the absence of the Librarian, my colleague Mr. J. G. Barrington-Ward, I noticed one day a coarse Romano-British vase standing on top of one of the cabinets which house the Wake and other bequest collections of coins in the MSS. Room in the Library. I was surprised, on taking it down, to find it nearly two-thirds full of Roman *antoniniani*, whose presence was fortunately explained by a piece of folded paper which read as follows:

"This Vase contains about 400 ancient Roman coins. It was dug out of the Eastern extremity of the great Roman camp in the Parish of Montacute in Somersetshire, and the hole in the side of it was made by the pickaxe of a labourer working for limestone. It was given by Mr. Phelips of Montacute to Mr. Wood who deposited it here. All the coins except a silver one of Trajan were of the age of the 30 Tyrants beginning with Gallienus and probably were the property of a common soldier. A very curious history might be made out of the Generals under whom he had served and the countries where he had fought from the coins themselves. Those in the best state of preservation have been taken out and placed in the Wake Collection, many of which were not to be found there before—one for example of Marius who reigned only 3 days. W. Wood."

Although the "very curious history" of Wood's imaginary common soldier might be left untold, it was clear that the hoard itself and the circumstances of its discovery demanded further investigation.

The paper was undated, but the handwriting appeared to be of the early nineteenth century, and the discovery of the hoard can in fact be tied down fairly closely from the persons mentioned. William Wood, its author, matriculated at Christ Church on 10 October, 1786; he was Senior Proctor in 1800, and remained in residence at the House until 1814. He eventually became a Prebendary of Canterbury and died in 1841. The Phelips's of Montacute had strong connexions with Christ Church at this period. Edward Phelips, who was M.P. for Somerset from 1784 until his death in 1792, had matriculated at the House in 1770, and he may possibly have given Wood the hoard between 1786 and 1792. But much more probably it came from one of his nephews, John or Robert, who matriculated in 1802 and 1810 respectively. Wood may well have been Tutor to both, and the discovery would then fall between 1802 and 1814, when Wood left Christ Church.

"The great Roman camp in the Parish of Montacute" can be nothing but the vast prehistoric earthwork on Ham Hill which has produced from time to time, mainly from operations connected with the well-known limestone quarries, antiquities ranging from the Neolithic to the Roman period. Although most of the Roman objects have come from the south-west part of the Camp, rather than from "the Eastern extremity", the recent excavations have shown that Roman occupation was by no means confined to that quarter.¹

¹ See *Proc. Somerset Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.*, vols. 69-72 (1923-6).

Several Roman hoards are known to have been found on Ham Hill, but the present one cannot be identified with any other hitherto recorded.² Indeed, it has remained in all likelihood unnoticed and untouched, except by an occasional duster, for more than 120 years—since the day when William Wood deposited it on the top of the Wake coin cabinet. It is not recorded in any of the Library catalogues or memoranda, and the late Professor Haverfield was unaware of its existence when he wrote the article on Roman Somerset in the *Victoria County History*, though he was, curiously enough, Librarian of Christ Church at the time.

The pot (Fig. 1), which can be safely dated to the decade A.D. 260-270, is of biconical form with a plain everted rim, and carination rather less than half-way up the side. By itself, the rim might well be much earlier, but the low carination gives the squat, bulbous appearance common in much third-century pottery. The fabric is a coarse, hard, rather sandy ware, dark grey in colour. The smoothed surface is roughened, probably by wear and tear, for half an inch above the carination all round the pot. The pick-hole mentioned by Wood is an inch long and half an inch wide, and is situated below the carination, which suggests that the pot was lying on its side, if not upside down, when the labourer struck it. There are, moreover, three

² Cf. two or perhaps three hoards in *V.C.H. Somerset*, i, pp. 295-6. Our hoard answers fairly well to that mentioned in *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.*, iv. 1. 11. "An ancient Roman vase dug up at Ham Hill some years ago. It was in a perfect state of preservation and, when discovered, was filled with copper coins chiefly of the later Roman Emperors." This, however, was exhibited by Mr. Watts of the Mermaid Hotel, Yeovil, in 1853, by which date our hoard had already reposed for some forty years in Christ Church Library.

chips flaked off the *underside* of the rim, a fact which points towards the same conclusion.

A brief note with an incomplete list of the easily identifiable coins was published in *Journal of Roman*

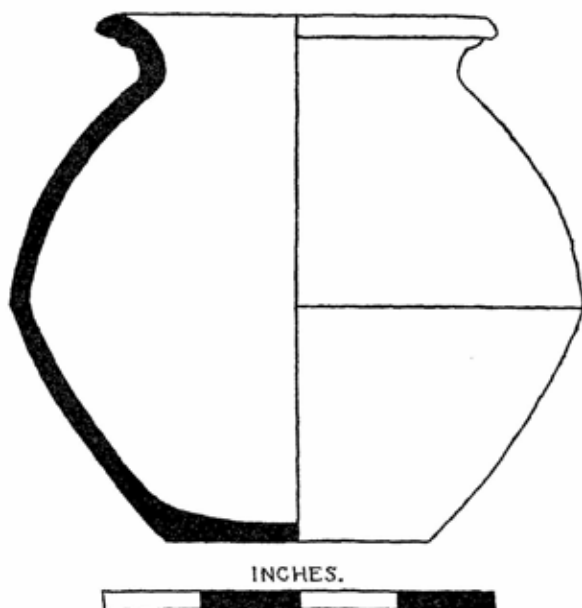


FIG. 1

Studies, xxi (1931), p. 241. But it was not until this year, when Mr. Sutherland was engaged in cataloguing the other collections of Roman coins at Christ Church, that the opportunity occurred for a complete examination of the hoard and for his fortunate recovery of the coins which had been removed and placed in the Wake collection by Wood. It is thus possible to publish the hoard more than 120 years after its discovery with the reasonable certainty that it is now in exactly the same condition as when found.

J. N. L. MYRES.

The hoard consists of 491 *antoniniani*.³ At the time of its rediscovery only 385 coins were contained in the pot, and the note stated that the best preserved specimens had been incorporated in the main Wake Collection in Christ Church Library. Fortunately these had been kept apart, and the handwriting on the little parcels in which they were wrapped, together with the characteristic patina of the coins themselves, left no doubt that they formed the missing part of the hoard. These 106 extra coins include 30 of the opening reign—that of Gallienus.

The contents of the hoard, which is well preserved and almost free from corrosion, are as follows:

Gallienus	37
Salonina	6
Valerian II	1
Postumus	19
Laelian	1
Victorinus	130
Marius	2
Tetricus I.	185
Tetricus II	66
Claudius II	38
Quintillus	3
Unidentified	3 ⁴
Total	<u>491</u>

Deposits of this nature are common in Britain; similar examples from the south-west are the Carhayes,⁵ Clapton-in-Gordano,⁶ and Sterte⁷ hoards. It is probable

³ The silver coin of Trajan mentioned in Wood's note cannot be identified with any certainty; but theoretically the hoard should be classed as a "mixed" one.

⁴ One with the obverse struck with the reverse incuse.

⁵ *Num. Chron.*, 1900, pp. 209-17.

⁶ *Num. Chron.*, 1927, pp. 208-18.

⁷ *J.R.S.*, xxi, p. 241; *Num. Chron.*, 1933, pp. 229-32.

that nearly all such hoards owe their concealment to Aurelian's reform of the coinage, following as closely as this did upon the debasement under Gallienus. Despite their frequency, however, these hoards possess a certain interest in the relationship they show between the issues of the two régimes—those of the central government and those of Gaul. Further, the publication of the figures of the Selsey hoard⁸ has raised conspicuously the question of the date of the accession and coinage of Tetricus.

That the Ham Hill coins were buried during the year A.D. 270 seems probable from the presence of two only of the commemorative coins of Claudius II, and three only of the issues of Quintillus. But if, as has been argued, Tetricus' reign did not begin before 270, it is quite possible that this deposit was not concealed before the end of the year; it might even belong to the next. We know very little of the effect on Britain of the independent Gallic Empire. Was the island cut off from supplies of official Roman coinage, or did they still get through? And, if they still continued, how did they get here? These are questions which will, in all likelihood, never be answered with certainty. Yet we are not debarred from speculating whether, if Tetricus was in power in Gaul from 270 onwards, this might possibly restrict supplies of official coinage from Rome to Britain. Similarly, if we are to explain the facts that 70 per cent. of the coins of Gallienus in this hoard are from the mint of Rome, that most of his coins are very little worn (six still retaining their silvering), and that there is only one joint-reign issue

⁸ *Num. Chron.*, 1933, pp. 223-8.

among them, it is tempting to suppose that, during a period beginning perhaps towards the end of Postumus' reign and ending about 270, the Gallic hold on Britain relaxed, with the consequent admission of more official issues.⁹ From the British point of view it can have mattered little whose was the portrait on a coin so long as sufficient coinage was supplied, and the authorities in Britain would have little scruple in accepting and circulating whatever coinage entered the country, whether from Gaul or elsewhere.

As in all such hoards, the difference between the productions of the Central Empire and the Gallic Empire is very strongly marked. The intrinsic value of the former may not, indeed, have been much higher than that of the latter, but at least the coins were issued with a fair silvery coating. Postumus, it is true, did his best to keep up the fiction of a silver coinage in Gaul: in this hoard 30 per cent. of his coins are silver-washed. But the coins of Victorinus show a drop to 8 per cent., while under Tetricus the percentage vanishes altogether. The Central Empire, on the other hand, shows the figures of 23 per cent. under Gallienus and 30 per cent. under Claudius—the latter proportion being partly due, no doubt, to the recent date of issue of some of the coins.

In style and technique, similarly, the contrast in hoards of this date between the two groups of coinage

⁹ Mr. Mattingly (*Num. Chron.*, *ibid.*) argues against this theory. But it does appear to explain the difficulty. Fine, unworn coins of Gallienus, minted at Rome, cannot have come over by drift or trade; nor were mid-third-century hoarders so keen on "collectors' pieces" as to show such a marked preference for fresh coins.

is remarkable. The Gallic flans vary from 15 to 22 mm. in diameter, and are of all thicknesses. The standard of Gallic striking, occasionally good, is generally extremely poor, reverse types being particularly bad.¹⁰ In the matter of the variety of types, moreover, the coins of Victorinus and Tetricus compare, as usual, most unfavourably with the issues of the Central Empire. The 36 identifiable coins of Gallienus exhibit 34 varieties of type, and 26 varieties of type are found among the 36 coins of Claudius. In comparison with these figures there may be noted the 13 types among the 129 coins of Victorinus and the 16 types among the 185 coins of Tetricus I. This question of the wearisome reduplication of types on the Gallic coinage is not without interest in view of the increased attention which is being paid to the imitations of this coinage. Under Victorinus the favourite types are *Invictus*, *Pax*, *Pietas Aug.*, *Providentia*, and especially *Salus* and *Virtus*. The coins of Tetricus are largely composed of the *Fides Militum*, *Hilaritas*, *Laetitia*, *Pax*, and *Spes* types, the last three of which account for 120 coins. The two most prominent types among the coins of Tetricus II are those of *Pietas Augustor* (and its varieties) and *Spes*. It was from the foregoing types, with the addition in particular of the "Altar" and "Eagle" types of Claudius II, that the manufacturers, both of the large-module copies and of the more puzzling radiate *minimi*, gained their inspiration.¹¹

¹⁰ A fact which helps to explain why the local copies of the Gallic coinage usually show an obverse which is favoured to the patent disadvantage of the reverse. One coin of Victorinus, however, shows a portrait unrecognizable as his.

¹¹ Cf. the Whitchurch hoard (*Num. Chron.*, 1934, pp. 92 ff.,

Of the large-module copies mentioned, the present hoard shows numerous examples, none struck, it would seem, before the Victorinus group: the one imitation of Gallienus is an indifferent cast, possibly a forger's piece. Copies of the mid-third-century coinage are almost invariably struck, and the preparation of dies, together with the physical labour involved in striking, imply the establishment of mints which, though unofficial and irregular, perhaps sufficed to serve the needs of a district. Of the types of Victorinus, three copies occur, of the *Oriens* and *Pax* types. Tetricus, as usual, supplies a far larger proportion of copies; one in particular, of the *Pax* type, is a fine example of good native workmanship, better in some respects than the coinage from which it is derived. Other Tetrican copies are of the *Pax*, *Laetitia*, *Spes*, and *Virtus* types. Two of the coins of Claudius in this hoard are also imitations, one of *Aequitas*, and one of the favourite "Altar".

It cannot be said for certain who was responsible for such copies and for what reason. They clearly passed in fair quantities with the regular issues, although in module they tend to be very slightly inferior, doubtless owing in many cases to restriking on old flans. It can hardly be supposed that money was scarce at the time; the immense floods of the Gallic coinage found in Britain render any such hypothesis untenable. But it is possible that periodical uncertainty or interruption of supplies encouraged native workmen, perhaps at the instigation of local authorities, to turn out these pieces.

1935, pp. 16 ff.) and Hayle Hoard (to be published), both composed of radiate *minimi*.

Although the hoard is not large it possesses, in common with others of the same character, many points which give rise to speculation. It is, moreover, the first hoard from Ham Hill which has been catalogued in its entirety.¹² This, together with the remarkable circumstances of its rediscovery by Mr. Myres, makes the material fully worth attention.

In the following list of the hoard, references are to Mattingly and Sydenham (=MS.), *Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. v, by Percy H. Webb, London, 1927-1933, throughout. Where more than a single example of a type occurs, details are given in brackets, in which are enclosed also mint-marks and particulars of variations.

GALLIENUS. MS. 45 (|), 157 (B |), 160 (Γ |), 163 ($\frac{1}{Z}$),
 164 ($\frac{1}{H}$), 171^a ($\frac{1}{\text{Hatched}}$), 178 ($\frac{1}{\text{E}}$), 179 (2 examples: one
 $\frac{1}{X}$, one $\frac{1}{XII}$), 181 ($\frac{1}{\Gamma}$), 192^a (| N), 193 (| S),
 206 (| XI), 207 ($\frac{1}{S}$), 216 ($\frac{1}{\text{Hatched}}$), 227 (S |), 230
 ($\frac{1}{B}$), 236 (A |), 245 (? $\frac{1}{N}$), 249 (Z |), 252 (A |),
 280 (| H), 283 ($\frac{1}{H}$), 287 (var., with | E), 297

¹² Cf. *V.C.H. Somerset*, i, pp. 295 ff. The problematical nature of the occupation of Ham Hill prevents any theorizing as to the owner of the hoard. If it was a small military station, of the kind common in mining districts, the hoard might represent the savings of a soldier, but in fact the military police appear to have been situated farther east, on the Mendips (cf. Gough, *Mines of the Mendips*, p. 36). Ham Hill was an ancient hill-settlement, with a quarry of good stone, and lay in the midst of a villa-district, near the important Ilchester crossing. Presumably coinage circulated in the Exeter-Dorchester area would quickly reach Ham Hill.

(Z |), 325 ($\frac{1}{\text{■}}$), 465^a ($\frac{1}{\text{MT}}$), 474 (| P), 483 ($\frac{1}{\text{MS}}$),
 499 ($\frac{1}{\text{■}}$), 507 ($\frac{1}{\text{■}}$), 508^a (2 examples: $\frac{1}{\text{MP}}$), 511^b
 (? $\frac{1}{\text{P}}$), 572 ($\frac{1}{\text{■}}$), 581 (| S), and one uncertain.

SALONINA. MS. 5 (*var.*, with | Z), 13 ($\frac{1}{\text{■}}$), 16 ($\frac{1}{\Delta}$),
 58 ($\frac{1}{\text{MS}}$), 62 ($\frac{1}{\text{MS}}$), 79 ($\frac{1}{\text{■}}$).

VALERIAN II. MS. 24.

CLAUDIUS II. MS. 10, 12 ($\frac{1}{\Delta}$), 13 (|), 14 (| S), 15
 (2 examples: one | ; one IΛ | , a local copy),
 19 (| Δ), 21 (| H), 22 or 23 (| ■), 32 (*var.*,
 with cornucopiae instead of sceptre), 34 (|), 36 ($\frac{1}{\text{■}}$),
 45 (| Γ), 46 (*var.*, with rad. cuir. bust r. instead of
 rad. head r.), 47 (| Z), 48 ($\frac{1}{\text{■}}$), 52 ($\frac{1}{\text{■}}$), 54 (|),
 54 (?) (| N), 56 (2 examples: $\frac{1}{\text{■}}$, $\frac{1}{\text{■}}$), 57 ($\frac{1}{\text{■}}$),
 63 (*var.*, with long staff instead of cornucopiae: | X),
 67 ($\frac{1}{\text{■}}$), 87 (|), 91 (|), 94 (| S), 98
 (2 examples: $\frac{1}{\text{■}}$), 110 (3 |), 149 ($\frac{1}{\text{S}}$), 168 ($\frac{1}{\text{P}}$),
 171 ($\frac{1}{\text{S}}$), 172 ($\frac{1}{\text{P}}$), 261 (|), 266 (|), and two
 uncertain.

QUINTILLUS. MS. 29 (15), 45 (*var.*, with rev. legend

CONCORD EXER: $\frac{1}{T}$), 71 (*var.*, with bust cuir.

instead of draped: $\frac{1}{\text{shaded}}$).

POSTUMUS. MS. 54, 64, 80, 83, 85, 89 (\mathcal{A} plated with \mathcal{A}),
93, 287, 311, 315 (3 examples), 318 (5 examples, one

P 1), 378 (*var.*, with $\frac{1}{P}$), 380.

LAELIAN. MS. 6.

MARIUS. MS. 10 (SAEC —), 17.

VICTORINUS. MS. 40, 41 (?) (*var.*, with — P F AVG), 47,
57 (7 examples), 61 (8 examples: PROVIDENTIA —),
62 (*var.*, with — P F AVG), 67 (7 examples), 71
(25 examples), 75 (2 examples), 78 (19 examples), 84
(*var.*, with — SAC —), 109 (— PIA —), 110, 114 (22
examples: 19 \times 1, 3 1), 115 (local copy: 1), 117
(— PIAV —: V 1 \times), 118 (23 examples: 17 V 1 \times ,
1 V 1, 1 1: two local copies, one with — P F I
AVG, one with — P F OVG and double border of
dots), and eight uncertain.

TETRICUS I. MS. 56 (12 examples), 59, 61 (*var.*, with
— CCP —), 70 (5 examples), 71 (6 examples), 80
(8 examples), 86 and ff. (20 examples: one local copy),
uncertain of 86 ff. (11 examples: one local copy with
IMPTNTRICVSPFAVG), 87, 88 (7 examples), 90
(14 examples), 90 (*var.*, with IMPC —), 95, 100 (53
examples, all 1: two local copies, one IMPCTET-
RICVS P F NVG), 121, 126, 130 (*var.*, with - - -]
ESVTETRICVS [- - -]), 135 (with — ESVVIVS —),
136 (21 examples), 136 (*var.*, with IMPTETRICVS
P F AVG = Cohen 173), 141 (7 examples), 148 (10
examples). Two apparently undescribed types:

Obv. IMP TETRICVS AVG

Rev. VIRT[? VTI or -VS AV]G and type of *Fides*
Militum.

42 ROMAN COINS FROM HAM HILL, SOMERSET.

Obv. IMP TETRICVS P F AVG

Rev. PAX AVGG Pax standing l. with olive-branch and short sceptre held high.

Also ten uncertain.

TETRICUS II. MS. 224 (3 examples), 248, 254, 255 (10 examples: one with legend spaced \uparrow PIETAS AVG, die left unfinished?), 258 (4 examples), 259 (2 examples), 260 (2 examples), 270 (12 examples), 272 (27 examples), and four uncertain.

There are also (see p. 34 above) three unidentifiable coins.

C. H. V. SUTHERLAND.

III.

THE HISTORY AND COINAGE OF THE SULTANS OF KILWA.

[SEE PLATES VIII-IX.]

Two large hoards of bronze coins from East Africa issued about the fourteenth and fifteenth century by Moslem princes, presumably of the Dynasty of Kilwa, have recently been examined by the present writer and a representative selection has been made and presented to the British Museum at the generous request of the respective owners. Hoard A is the property of Norman King, Esq., C.M.G., H.B.M. Consul General at Barcelona, and formerly H.B.M. Consul for German East Africa. Hoard B is owned by J. S. Last, Esq. The National Collection already possessed a few specimens of the coins of four of these rulers, but a study of these two hoards has enabled the present writer to decipher the names of five more, thus making a total of nine rulers in all, although Zambaur¹ records only three known to him, whose coins have so far been preserved. The extent, therefore, to which these two coin hoards cast new light on this obscure Moslem Dynasty may be gathered from the following lists:

¹ *Manuel de Chronologie*, p. 309.

*Zambaur.**Coins.*

(Hoard A)

- | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan. | 1. <i>al-Ḥasan ibn Ṭalūt.</i> |
| 2. Sulaimān ibn al-Ḥasan. | 2. <i>Sulaimān ibn al-Ḥusain.</i> |
| 3. al-Ḥasan ibn Sulaimān. | 3. <i>Dā'ūd ibn al-Ḥasan.</i> |
| | 4. <i>Dā'ūd ibn Sulaimān.</i> |
| | 5. 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan. |
| | 6. Sulaimān ibn al-Ḥasan. |
| | 7. al-Ḥasan ibn Sulaimān. |

(Hoard B)

- | |
|--------------------------------|
| 8. <i>al-Ḥusain ibn Aḥmad.</i> |
| 9. <i>Ishāq ibn Ḥasan.</i> |

In no case do the two hoards overlap. While, for reasons given below, the coins of Hoard A are almost certainly to be ascribed to Kilwa, those of Hoard B, on the other hand, can only be tentatively apportioned to the same locality by analogy of legend structure and approximate provenance. In all cases the coins are published for the first time.

HOARD A.

The contents grouped according to their numerical representation in the hoard, are as follows:

1. al-Ḥasan ibn Ṭalūt	3
2. Sulaimān ibn al-Ḥusain	7
3. Dā'ūd ibn al-Ḥasan	96
4. Dā'ūd ibn Sulaimān	206
5. Sulaimān ibn al-Ḥasan	519
6. 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan	940
7. al-Ḥasan ibn Sulaimān	1791
Uncertain (Kilwa type)	91
Foreign (Moslem)	5
Glass weights	3
Total	3661

Presumably Hoard A. was made during the reign of al-Ḥasan ibn Sulaimān, in view of the fact that his coins in several varieties predominate, and also because on his coins only do we find the appearance of a particular formula (عز نصره), which is of late usage in Moslem numismatics. To what extent this agrees with the historical data which we possess concerning the Dynasty of Kilwa will be seen when we come to consider that matter. With regard to the provenance of Hoard A, their finder writes (in a private letter dated 29th Oct. 1935): "*When the German post at Kilindoni, just north of Kissiwani, was captured in January 1915, a box of old coins was thrown away, presumably by the Askaris. I noticed some of the coins lying about and proceeded to rescue all I could. The natives told us that the coins had been collected by the Germans, and I think they came from Kissiwani.*"²

In East Africa Kilwa (كِلْوَا) is a common place-name,³ being applied either alone or in compound form to about half a dozen different towns and islands. The one which concerns us here is *Kilwa Kisicānī*, a seaport situated on a small island (8° 58' S.), 150 miles south of Dar-es-Salaam, or some 200 miles south of Zanzibar. Formerly in German East Africa, it is now in Tanganyika Territory. On the island can still be seen the vestiges of former Arab settlements, where the members of the Kilwa Dynasty had their capital. Burton, who visited the place in 1857, thus describes the ruins:

² This is Kissiwani on the island of Mafia which was one of the dependencies of the Sultans of Kilwa.

³ See article *Kilwa* by the present writer in the Supplement to the *Encyclopædia of Islām*.

"The most remarkable are the remnants of the Nabhāni Mosque, which blackened and decayed, represents the 366 of Kilwa Island in her day of pride: the well-cut gateway, the Mihrab decorated with Persian tiles, and the vestiges of ghaut-steps, and masonry lining the shore, showed a considerable amount of civilization. Around it lay the tombs of the Shirazi Shaykhs . . . strewed with small water-washed pebbles."⁴

The mention of *Shirazi Shaykhs* in the above extract refers to the tradition that the Moslem Dynasty of Kilwa was founded by certain Persian émigrés from *Shīrāz*⁵ somewhere about the latter half of the tenth century A.D. Our knowledge of the subsequent history of Kilwa is derivable from two sources: (a) the Portuguese account, based on a contemporary Chronicle of the Kings of Kilwa (*Chronica dos Reis de Quiloa*), recorded in the *Asia* of De Barros⁶ and (b) a modern, and apparently unique, Arabic MS. in the British Museum (Or. 2666). The latter was edited with notes and a résumé by S. Arthur Strong in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1895, pp. 385-430). The sub-

⁴ *Zanzibar*, vol. ii, pp. 358-9. There are two interesting photographs of Kilwa ruins in Justus Strandes: *Die Portugiesenzeit von Deutsch- und Englisch-Ostafrika*, Berlin 1899, pp. 86 and 88; see also, incidentally, the article on *Mafia* (in the *Geographical Journal*, August 1917) by Norman King, the owner and finder of Hoard A, for another photograph.

⁵ Whether this was the Persian *Shīrāz*, or some other place of the same name, has been called in question. See C. H. Becker's article: *Materialien zur Kenntnis des Islams in Deutsch-Ostafrika in Der Islam*, vol. ii, p. 9. (*Ob sie wirklich persisch war, scheint mir zweifelhaft. Der Name Schirāzi darf uns nicht irreführen.*)

⁶ *Asia de Joam de Barros*, Lisbon, 1552-1553, I, viii, cap. iv ff.

joined comparative table and approximate genealogy of the rulers of Kilwa have been prepared by the present writer from the above two sources. In this he has employed the 1552 Lisbon edition of De Barros, and the original Arabic MS. of the Arabic Chronicle. While the two sources will thus be seen to supplement one another, one outstanding fact emerges from the collation, namely, that there are serious gaps in the Arabic text. This is perhaps not surprising considering that it is a quite modern MS. written as recently as A.H. 1294 (A.D. 1877), although, no doubt, it is a compilation from some much older document similar to that utilized by the Portuguese pioneers, who landed on Kilwa Island in the wake of Admiral Vasco da Gama. Sir John Kirk, who received the Arabic MS. from the Sultan of Zanzibar in 1877, the year when it was transcribed, presented it to the British Museum in 1883. Before doing so, he wrote on the fly-leaf these words, descriptive of its contents: "*Notes on the History of Kilwa by Sheikh Moheddin of Zanzibar 1862. From arrival of Persians to Portuguese Conquest.*" Sheikh Moheddin (*Muhyi-l-Dīn*) must of course be understood to have been merely the compiler of the work, since the original author, we are told,⁷ was born in the year 904 (i.e. A.D. 1498), during the reign of al-Fuḍail the forty-fourth ruler of Kilwa. Fortunately, in addition to these two literary sources, the coins

⁷ p. 16. We are also informed (p. 2 v.) that he entitled his work *Kitāb al-Sulwa fī Akhbār Kilwa* (The Book of Pleasure concerning the History of Kilwa), a fact which is overlooked by Strong in his edition. The nameless author of the book might have told us a great deal more than he does, but he was apparently overwhelmed by the "dread of prolixity" (خوف التطويل).

supply us with useful supplementary and corroborative evidence, which has the distinct advantage as well of being contemporary.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, the celebrated Moslem traveller, who visited the place about A.D. 1332, spells the name *Kulwā* (كلوا).⁸ When he stayed there, the Sultan was Ḥasan ibn Sulaimān (no. 21) [circa 718-742 = A.D. 1318-1341], who was given the sobriquet of *Abu'l-Mawāhib*, i.e., "*The Father of Gifts*", on account of his great public generosity, particularly towards men of religion. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa also tells us that Ḥasan was succeeded by his brother Dā'ūd, a fact which corresponds with the Kilwa Chronicles (nos. 20 and 22). This Dā'ūd, some of whose coins are included in the Hoard, was (according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa) the antithesis of his brother, being as parsimonious as the latter had been liberal.

THE SULTANS OF KILWA.⁹

DE BARROS.	ARABIC CHRONICLE.
<i>Soltā Hócen</i> from Shīrāz (Xiraz)	Ḥasan ibn 'Alī, Sultan of Shīrāz, migrated with his six sons to the African coastland.
<i>Ale</i> (his son) came to Kilwa (Quiloa).	

⁸ (بضم الكاف واسكان اللام وفتح الواو). See edition by Defrémery and Sanguinetti, ii, p. 192; Yāqūt, however, spells it as Kilwa (كلوة) [*Mu'jam al-Bulḍān*, s.v.]. Cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's pronunciation with that of the author of the Arabic Chronicle (see preceding footnote) which was probably *Kulwa* to rhyme with *sulwa*.

⁹ The author of the Arabic Chronicle of Kilwa gives the rulers the title of Sultan (السلطان), although it does not occur anywhere on their coins.

DE BARROS.

1. *Ale Bumale* (his son)
reigned 40 years; no
sons (?).
2. *Ale Busoloquete*
reigned $4\frac{1}{2}$ years; son
of a brother (?) in Mōfia
(= Mafia).
3. *Daut* (son of Ale)
reigned 4 years; driven
out by invader Matáta
Mādelina, king of Shāga
(*rey de Xāga*); died in
exile in Mōfia (Mafia).
4. *Ale Bonebaquer* (usurper)
reigned 2 years; nephew
of the invader Matáta;
driven out by the people
of Kilwa.

ARABIC CHRONICLE.

- '*Alī ibn Husain ibn 'Alī*
reigned 40 years; sur-
named ابو مليح (= اغومج =
Bumale?); went to Manfia
(منفية = Mafia),¹⁰ where his
sons afterwards ruled,
(a) Muḥammad ($2\frac{1}{2}$ years)
(b) Baṣṣat ($4\frac{1}{2}$ years).
- '*Alī ibn Baṣṣat* (ibn 'Alī)
reigned $4\frac{1}{2}$ years; ruled
over his uncles:
(a) Sulaimān ibn 'Alī
(b) Ḥasan ibn 'Alī
(c) Dā'ud ibn 'Alī (= no. 3).
- Dā'ud ibn 'Alī
reigned 2 years; retired to
Mafia to visit his father's
grave; remained there and
handed over Kilwa to his
son 'Alī ibn Dā'ud (see De
Barros, nos. 6 and 7).
- Khālīd ibn Bakr* (usurper)
reigned $2\frac{1}{2}$ years; ap-
pointed ruler by the in-
vaders al-Matamandalīn (?)
(المتمدلين) "the people of
Shāgh" (اهل شاع), (cf. De
Barros, no. 3); driven out
by the people of Kilwa.

¹⁰ Not Mombasa (منبسة) as believed by Strong, *op. cit.*, p. 399, following a gloss in the Arabic text (p. 7 v.). This mistake is repeated by Conte Rossini in *Atti del Terzo Congresso Geogr. Italiano*, Florence, 1899, ii, p. 493. On the same page he also makes the Sultan migrate with *seven* instead of with *six* sons. There were actually seven ships in all, but one was in the charge of the Sultan himself. It is in the different version recorded in the *Portuguese Chronicle* that mention is made of *seven* sons.

DE BARROS.

5. *Hócen Soleiman*
reigned 16 years (nephew
of Daut).

6. *Alc bem Daut*
reigned 60 years (*sic*),
nephew.

7. *Alc (bem Daut)*
reigned 6 years (nephew);
deposed by the populace;
cast into a well.

8. *Hacen ben Daut* (his
brother)
reigned 24 years.

9. *Soleiman*
(of the blood royal);
reigned 2 years; a tyrant;
killed by his subjects.

10. *Daut* (his son)
reigned 40 years; trade
with Sofala.

11. *Soleiman Hacen* (his son)
reigned 18 years; con-
quered a great part of
the coastal region (Lord
of Sofala and of the
islands of Pemba,
Mafia, and Zanzibar);
built a fortress at
Kilwa.

ARABIC CHRONICLE.

Hasan ibn Sulaimān (ibn 'Alī)
reigned 12 years; another
invasion of *المستعدين*,
Hasan fled to Zanzibar;
the invaders appointed an
Amīr named Muḥammad
ibn Ḥusain al-Mundhīrī to
govern Kilwa.

Hasan ibn Sulaimān (re-
stored)
reigned 14 years.

See no. 3.

Hasan ibn Dā'ūd (ibn 'Alī)
reigned 70 years (*sic*).

[There is obviously a distinct
break in the Arabic text
at this point, as can be
seen from a comparison
with the Portuguese ver-
sion. The lacuna occurs
at the end of the second
chapter (الباب الثاني).]

DE BARROS.	ARABIC CHRONICLE.
12. <i>Daut</i> (his son) reigned 2 years.	
13. <i>Talut</i> (his brother) reigned 1 year.	
14. <i>Hacen</i> (his brother) reigned 25 years; no children.	
15. <i>Hale bonij</i> (his brother) reigned 10 years; the luckiest member of the dynasty.	
16. <i>Bone Soleiman</i> (his nephew) reigned 40 years.	
17. <i>Ale Daut</i> reigned 14 years.	
18. <i>Hacen</i> (his grandson) reigned 18 years; a most excellent horse- man.	<i>Hasan</i> ibn <i>Talut</i> reigned 18 years; took Kilwa by force.

Coins (see p. 63).

19. <i>Soleiman</i> (his son) reigned 14 years; killed outside the mosque.	Missing.
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Coins : Sulaimān ibn al-Ḥasan (see p. 65).

20. <i>Daut</i> (his son) reigned, firstly, for 2 years, during the ab- sence of his brother <i>Hacen</i> who had gone to Mecca.	See no. 22.
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Coins (see p. 67).

DE BARROS.

21. *Hacen* (his brother)
reigned 24 years.

22. *Daut* (his brother)
reigned 24 years (se-
cond reign).

23. *Soleiman* (his son)
reigned 20 days; the
kingdom seized by his
uncle *Hacen*.

24. *Hacen* (his uncle)
reigned 6½ years.

25. *Taluf* [*sic*] (his nephew
[?], brother of the
foregoing *Soleiman*)
reigned 1 year.

26. *Soleiman* (his brother)
reigned 2 years and 4
months; driven out by
his uncle *Soleiman*.

ARABIC CHRONICLE.

Hasan ibn Sulaimān ibn
Hasan ibn Ṭalūt
reigned 14 years; named
Abu'l-Mawāhib; went to
Mecca; studied spiritual
science (العلم الروحاني) at
Aden.

Dā'ūd ibn Sulaimān
reigned 24 days (*sic*) [per-
haps confused with his son
who only reigned 20 days];
regent during the absence
of his brother *Hasan* in
Arabia; a pious ruler.

Coins (see p. 67).

Missing.

Husain ibn Sulaimān
reigned 6½ years; died a
martyr (شهيد) in a Holy
War (جهاد) against the
infidels of the mainland.

Ṭalūt ibn *Husain*
reigned 2 years 4 months
and 14 days; left on pil-
grimage to Mecca, but died
on the way.

24. *Husain*

25. *Ṭalūt* 26. *Sulaimān*

Missing.

Coins: *Sulaimān* ibn al-*Husain* (see p. 68).

DE BARROS.	ARABIC CHRONICLE.
27. <i>Soleiman</i> (his uncle) reigned 24 years 4 months and 20 days.	Missing.
28. <i>Hacen</i> (his son) reigned 24 years.	<i>Husain</i> ibn Sulaimān reigned 23 years; went on pilgrimage to Mecca safely (the fact that the Arabic text proceeds as if he were the son of Ṭālūt is a clear indication that certain lines have been dropped out).
29. <i>Muhamed Ladil</i> (his brother) reigned 9 years.	<i>Muḥammad</i> ibn Sulaimān reigned 22 years; called <i>al-Malik al-'Adil</i> (= <i>Ladil</i>) Wazīr: Sulaimān Amīr: Muḥammad ibn Sulaimān [The length of his reign probably belongs to his successor.]
30. <i>Soleiman</i> (his son) reigned 22 years; no sons (?).	<i>Sulaimān</i> ibn Muḥammad length of reign not stated; mosque rebuilt that was in ruins in the days of Ḥasan ibn Sulaimān (21), expenditure 1000 mith- kāls ¹¹ of gold. Amīr: Muḥammad, who tried to get the throne.

¹¹ It is permissible to deduce from this statement that there were no *dīnārs*, or gold coins, struck by the Sultans of Kilwa, although they had the resources of the gold region of Sofala at their command. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*op. cit.*, ii, p. 195) mentions the fact that "the majority of the presents in this country consists of ivory; they rarely give gold"; apparently, the "precious" metal was too commonplace.

DE BARROS.

31. *Ismael Ben Hacē* (his uncle ?)
reigned 14 years.

32. The Governor made Sultan for 1 year.

33. The Governor made Sultan for 1 year [?].

34. *Mamud* (a poor man but of royal blood)
reigned for 1 year.

35. *Hacē* (son of Ismael)
reigned 10 years.

36. *Zayde* (his son)
reigned 10 years.

ARABIC CHRONICLE.

Ismā'il ibn Husain (ibn Sulaimān)

reigned 13 years.

Wazir: Sulaimān

Amir: Muḥammad ibn Sulaimān.

During this reign Sa'id ibn Ḥasan (no. 36) rebelled, and sought help from Ḥasan ibn Abī Bakr, the Sultan of Zanzibar; though unsuccessful, he was pardoned by Ismā'il.

The Governor (Amir) Muḥammad made Sultan for 1 year.

Wazir:

(a) Sulaimān; then

(b) Sa'id (= no. 36).

Amir: Sulaimān ibn Muḥammad (= no. 37) his son.

Aḥmad ibn Sulaimān
reigned for 1 year.

Wazir: Sa'id (= no. 36).

Amir: Sulaimān ibn Muḥammad (= no. 37).

Ḥasan ibn Ismā'il
reigned 10 years.

Wazir: Sa'id (= no. 36).

Amir: Sulaimān (= no. 37).

Sa'id (ibn Ḥasan)

During the reign of Sa'id, the Rasūlid Prince Mas'ūd of Arabia, expelled from Aden by 'Alī ibn Ṭāhir (c. A.H. 858 = A.D. 1454) arrived at Kilwa on a visit.

DE BARROS.

37. The Governor becomes Sultan for 1 year.
Amīr: Mamude (his brother) who had three sons, whom he sent off to official posts in the outlying dominions of Kilwa; one of them, Içuf (i.e. Yūsuf) governed Sofāla at the time when the Portuguese came.

38. *Habedāla* (brother of Zayde)¹² reigned $1\frac{1}{2}$ years.

39. *Alē* (his brother) reigned $1\frac{1}{2}$ years.

ARABIC CHRONICLE.

The Governor (Amīr) Sulaimān ibn Muḥammad becomes Sultan for $1\frac{1}{2}$ years.
Amīr: Muḥammad (his brother).

'*Abdallāh* ibn Ḥasan reigned $1\frac{1}{2}$ years.
Wazīr: Ḥasan ibn Sulaimān.
Amīr: Muḥammad Kiwāb.

'*Alī* ibn Ḥasan reigned $1\frac{1}{2}$ years.
Wazīr: Ḥasan ibn Sulaimān.
Amīr: Muḥammad Kiwāb.

Coins (see p. 70).

40. *Hacē* (son of the Governor who tyrannized the land (i.e. no. 37). length of reign not given (see no. 42).

Ḥasan ibn Sulaimān (son of the Amīr Sulaimān = no. 37).
Amīr: Muḥammad Kiwāb.
Sultan Ḥasan reigned for six years; was deposed by the Amīr Muḥammad (see no. 42).

Coins (see p. 72).

41. *Xābo* (of the blood royal) reigned 1 year.

Subḥat (سبحت) reigned 1 year.

¹² Guillaín, see p. 62, n. 16, wrongly makes him his son, and is followed in this by Kersten, see p. 62, n. 17.

DE BARROS.

42. *Hacen*
reigned 5 years (second
reign, see no. 40).

ARABIC CHRONICLE.

Ḥasan ibn Sulaimān
reigned 5 years (second
reign, see no. 40); he was
restored by the Amīr
Muḥammad and again de-
posed by him.

Coins (see p. 72).

43. *Habraemo* (son of Soltā
Mamude)
reigned 2 years; after-
wards deposed.

Ibrāhīm (ibn al-Malik al-
'Ādil)
reigned 5 years; the de-
posed Sultan Ḥasan tried
to return, but the Amīr
Muḥammad could not
manage to restore him,
since he was not of royal
blood like Ibrāhīm; civil
disturbance; great loss of
life; Ibrāhīm was deposed
by the Amīr Muḥammad,
who ruled for a short time
himself, before he abdi-
cated and appointed al-
Fuḍail (no. 44).

44. *Alfudail* (nephew)
had a short reign.

al-Fuḍail ibn Sulaimān
began to reign in the year
A.H. 901 = A.D. 1495/6.
The deposed Sultan Ḥasan
again created trouble, but
was driven out of the king-
dom. He retired to مغم(?)
غوب, where he founded
a small principality.
[Strong (p. 401) suggests
reading مغم غون = Mgongeni
= Kilwa Kivinje (8° 45' S.)]
The Amīr Muḥammad
died, after having con-
trolled the country and its
Sultans for 15 years. His
nephew Ibrāhīm (son of
Sultan Sulaimān = no. 37)
succeeded him as Amīr.

DE BARROS.

45. *Mir Habraemo*, the real ruler of Kilwa after the death of Alfudail, though he was not called king.

Arrival of the Portuguese:

Pedralvarez Cabral

João da Nôva

Almiräte dō Vasco da Gãma.

- [*Habraemo* (*Ibrāhīm*) became vassal of the king of Portugal (in 1502).]
Deposed (see no. 49).

46. *Mahamed Anconij*, appointed Sultan by Dō Francisco Dalmeyda (A.D. 1505); murdered at the instigation of the deposed *Mir Habraemo*.

47. (*Agī Hocem* (his son) [A.D. 1506] deposed.

48. *Micante* (or *Nycate*), deposed.

49. *Habraemo* (cousin of *Micante*), vassal of Portugal [A.D. 1507].

50.

ARABIC CHRONICLE.

Amīr Ibrāhīm, the real ruler of Kilwa.

Arrival of the Portuguese (الفرنج, i.e. the Franks):

906 (A.D. 1500) Don Pedro Alvarez القبطان بيدارس arrived with a number of ships.

907 (A.D. 1501) Don Joan de Nova arrived in one ship.

908 (A.D. 1502) Don Vasco da Gama (called العرتي = Almiräte) returned.

[Arabic Chronicle ends abruptly.]

May be identified with *Muḥammad ibn Rukn al-Dīn al-Dabūh*, one of the chief men of Kilwa mentioned in the course of the last chapter of the Arabic Chronicle.

Hājji Hasan (his son).

Muḥammad Mikāt (مكات), (son of the *Amīr Kiwāb*).

Ibrāhīm (restored).

Sa'īd (his brother).

DE BARROS.

ARABIC CHRONICLE.

51.

Muhammad (nephew of al-Fudail). It was by his command that the Arabic Chronicle was compiled.¹³

In accordance with the historical and genealogical data given on pp. 59-61, the coins of Hoard A are arranged here in chronological order. All the examples described are in the British Museum. As the coins are, for the most part, crude in execution and often considerably defaced, the legends have had to be reconstructed from a comparison of several specimens. Hence, the reconstructions given below are seldom as complete on any one specimen. Nevertheless, as can be seen from the plates, there is no question of the accuracy of the readings.¹⁴

In every case the name of the ruler, on the obverse, has been fitted with an appropriate rhyme, on the reverse. To indicate this a transliteration of the Arabic is subjoined. The oriental mind is particularly fond of the use of assonance, and although poetic couplets are common on the coins of the Shahs of Persia and the Moghul Emperors of India, the terse rhymes on these coins of Kilwa are quite distinctive in Moslem numismatics, especially in their employ-

¹³ These last six names are preserved in the chapter headings (8, 9 and 10) of the Arabic Chronicle (p. 3 r.), though the work itself abruptly ends towards the close of chapter seven (الباب السابع).

The Arabic text punctuates مَكَات Makātu, but the Portuguese contemporary version would imply a form Mikāt(u), cf. Kiwāb(u), the name of his father. These names were apparently bestowed on father and son to distinguish them from the grandfather who was also Muhammad.

¹⁴ The only doubtful legend occurs in the case of Ishāk ibn Ḥasan, whose coins form part of Hoard B (see below p. 79).

GENEALOGY OF THE SULTANS OF KILWA.¹⁵

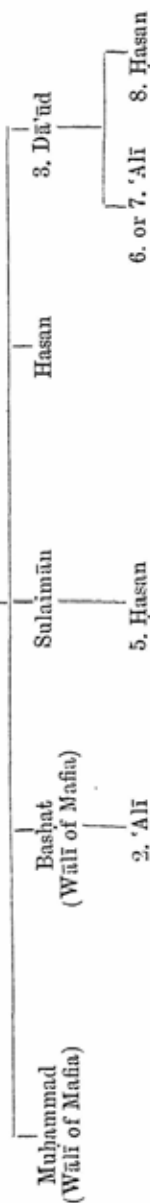
A. THE HOUSE OF 'ALĪ.

Ḥasan (Sultan of Shīrāz)

'Alī

[Ḥusain (?)]

1. 'Alī

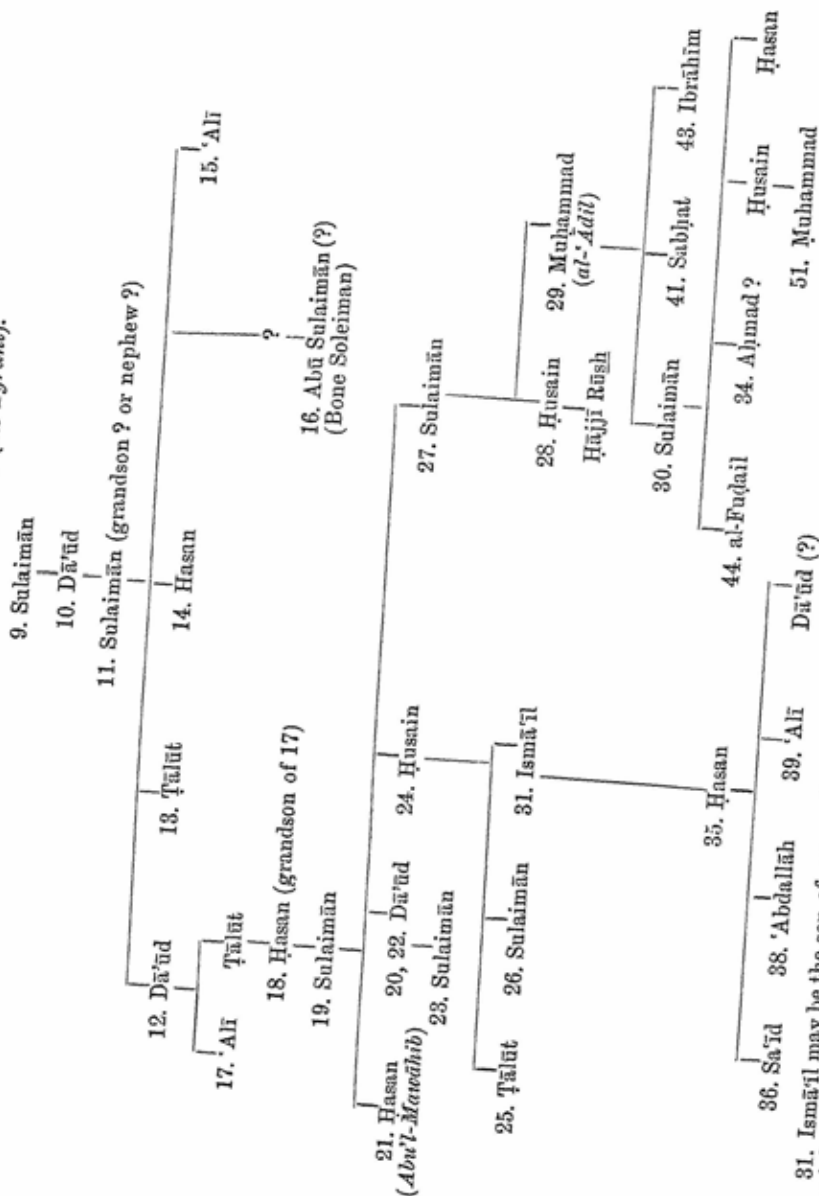


4. Khalid ibn Bakr (usurper).

6. 'Alī ibn Dā'ūd, nephew (?) of no. 5 according to De Barros.

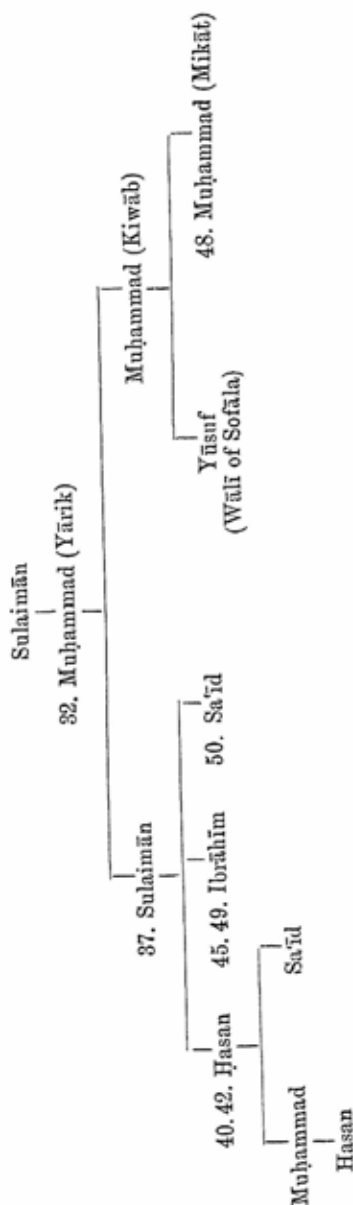
7. 'Alī ibn Dā'ūd, nephew (?) of no. 6 according to De Barros, but cousin of no. 5 according to the Arabic Chronicle.

¹⁵ There are so many contradictions in the Arabic text that the following genealogy can only be considered as a provisional one. Perhaps further research will result in an unravelling of the tangle.

B. THE HOUSE OF SULAIMĀN (*the Tyrant*).

31. Ismā'il may be the son of some other Ḥusain ibn Sulaimān ; De Barros makes him the uncle of no. 30, which he might have been by marriage.

C. THE HOUSE OF THE AMIRS SULAIMĀN AND MUḤAMMAD.



33. Unknown Governor, only authority De Barros; no doubt a case of dittography. Kersten (*op. cit.*, p. 27) omits him, apparently by accident, since he follows Guillain (*op. cit.*, p. 181) who includes him. The fact that the Arabic text has no knowledge of him is strongly in favour of the view that the statement in De Barros is a duplication.

37. Sulaimān had a daughter who was the mother of Sultan Muḥammad (no. 51).

ment of such rare attributes of Allah as *The Lord of the Kingdom, The Master of Bounties, The Lord of the Two Creations, &c.* In addition, the majority of the coins bear the legends *sa'ida* (سعيد), on the obverse, and 'azza (عز) on the reverse. These are interpreted in the one case as optative, and in the other as declarative, referring respectively to the Sultan and to Allah. It may be added that one unfortunate feature of these coins is the absence of any mention not only of the mint, but also of the date. As there are sometimes discrepancies in the length of the reigns of the various Sultans recorded in the two literary sources, the chronological data given below must be regarded as largely conjectural. Otto Kersten,¹⁶ following Guillaïn's¹⁷ résumé of De Barros, calculated the dates of the Kilwa Sultans, but his work appeared before the Arabic Chronicle was edited (in 1895). The present writer has had the advantage of new material, therefore, in arriving at the approximate dates of the Sultans whose coins are described below. One important *terminus a quo*, furnished by the Arabic MS., is the statement that the Sultan al-Fudail began to reign in A.H. 901 (=A.D. 1495-6). As the author of the work himself, as he tells us, was born shortly afterwards in A.H. 904 (=A.D. 1498), it is allowable to regard this date as credibly accurate. Moreover, the statement by Ibn

¹⁶ *Tabellarische Uebersicht der Geschichte Ostafrikas*, in vol. iii of Baron Carl Claus von der Decken's *Reisen in Ostafrika*, Leipzig and Heidelberg, 1879 pp. 26-8.

¹⁷ *Documents sur l'histoire, la géographie et le commerce de l'Afrique orientale*, Paris, 1856, Pt. I, pp. 178 ff.

Battūta, quoted above, agrees very well with the dates deducible therefrom.

HOARD A.

al-Ḥasan ibn Ṭālūt (no. 18).

(الحسن بن طالوت)

circa A.H. 684-702 (A.D. 1285-1302)

I. $\text{Æ } .9$; wt. 44.4 grs. (2.88 grms.). [Pl. VIII. 1.]

Obv. Within circle, with ornamentation in the field and flowing script:

الحسن
بن طالوت
سعد

الحسن al-Ḥasan
بن طالوت son of Ṭālūt
سعد (May he be happy)!

Traces of outer circle of dots.

Rev. Within circle, with ornamentation in the field and floriated script:

يَتَوَكَّلُ
الْمَلِكُوتُ
عَزَّ

يَتَوَكَّلُ trusts in the Lord
الْمَلِكُوتُ of the Kingdom [of Heaven]
عَزَّ (He is glorious!)

Traces of outer circle of dots.

Rhyme: *al-Ḥasan ibn Ṭālūt*
yathīku bi Rabbi'l-Malakūt.

II. $\text{Æ } .9$; wt. 29.7 grs. (1.92 grms.). [Pl. VIII. 2.]

As above; although more obliterated, it nevertheless supplies parts of the legends missing in no. I.

The name of this Sultan's father, Ṭālūt, is of some interest as it is the form used in the Koran for the Biblical King Saul (Koran II, 248), a form purposely

built to rhyme with the name of Goliath (or Jālūt) in the same story.¹⁸ It is a very rare name among Moslems, and in the present writer's recollection this is its first appearance on coins. The Kilwa Dynasty seems to have had a partiality for old Biblical names, for not only do we have Saul (ʿĪlūt), but also David (Dāʿūd), Solomon (Sulaimān), and, if we include Hoard B, Isaac (Ishāq). Although one might conclude from the other names commonly used by them, and from the (reputed) fact of their Persian origin, that they would be of the Shīʿa, or schismatic party, in Islam, who honoured the descendants of the Prophet's son-in-law (ʿAlī) and the latter's tragic sons (al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain), yet Ibn Baṭṭūṭa found them of the Shāfiʿi persuasion,¹⁹ one of the four orthodox schools of Moslem Jurisprudence, and one which is still strong to this day in that region, as well as in South Arabia, Baḥrain, and the Indian Archipelago.

The Portuguese Chronicle has but a brief mention of this Sultan Ḥasan:

*ao qual succedeo Hacen seu
nêto que reinou dezoito annos
que foy muy excelente cavaleiro.*

There succeeded him Ḥasan, his grandson, who reigned 18 years. He was a most distinguished cavalier.

The Arabic Chronicle, in this respect, supplies us with much more information.

ثم انتقل الملك منهم الى بيت
ابي المواهب والذى ولى الامر
منهم الحسن بن طالوت المشهور

Thereupon the kingdom was transferred from them (see *Genealogy*) to the House of Abu'l-Mawāhib. The one who took over the control

¹⁸ See J. Horowitz: *Koranische Untersuchungen*, s. v., and J. Walker: *Bible Characters in the Koran*, pp. 122-3.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, ii, p. 193 (وهم شافعية المذهب).

بالراى والشجاعة اخذ المالك بالغلبة
مع وجود اهله ولكنهم ضعفوا عن
الامر فاستبد بنفسه واخذ المملكة
قهرًا وقسرًا وكانت مدة ولايته
ثمانية عشر سنة ثم مات²⁰

from them was al-Ḥasan ibn Ṭalūt, who was renowned for mentality and fortitude. He seized the kingdom by force along with his people, but they were unequal to the government, so he became independent and seized the kingdom by violence. The length of his reign was 18 years. Then he died.

Sulaimān ibn al-Ḥasan (no. 19).

(سليمان بن الحسن)

circa A.H. 702-716; (A.D. 1302-1316).

III. $\text{Æ} \cdot 9$; wt. 36.9 grs. (2.39 grms.). [Pl. VIII. 3.]

Obv. Within double circle, with star in centre of the field:

سليمان
الحسن
سعد

سليمان بن
الحسن
سعد

Sulaimān son of
al-Ḥasan
(May he be happy !)

Rev. Within double circle, with star in centre of the field:

بمولى
المستعز
عز

يشق بمولى
الوثن
عز

trusts in the Master
of Bounties.
(He is glorious !)

Rhyme: *Sulaimān ibn al-Ḥasan*
yathīku bi Maula'l-Minan.

IV. $\text{Æ} \cdot 9$; wt. 39.3 grs. (2.55 grms.). [Pl. VIII. 4.]

Obv. and *rev.* as above, with the exception of points.

²⁰ B.M. Or. 2666 p. 8 v.

V. Æ .95 ; wt. 35.8 grs. (2.32 grms.).

Obv. As above, but legend :

سليمان | بن الحسن | سعد

Rev. As above ; large eight-pointed star in centre, and additional points in the field.

The Arabic Chronicle, in this case, actually fails to record the reign of this Sultan, and states that after the death of Ḥasan ibn Ṭālūt "*there reigned after him Abu'l-Marwāhib al-Ḥasan son of Sulaimān (al-Maṭ'ūn) son of Ḥasan son of Ṭālūt*" (فتولى بعده ابو المواهب الحسن بن) (سليمان المطعون بن حسن بن طالوت).²¹ This statement does, however, preserve for us the Sultan's sobriquet of al-Maṭ'ūn "*the Accursed*".²² The Portuguese Chronicle, on the other hand, supplies the true tradition, which is corroborated by the coins, as follows :

per sua morte ficou no reino seu filho Soleiman que foy morto em saindo da mesquita per traiçam, avendo quatorze ānos q̄ reynáva.

through his death his son Sulaimān was made king. He was killed coming out of the mosque by treachery, having reigned for 14 years.

The Arabic Chronicle, nevertheless, does contain an allusion later on to Sulaimān's tragic end, in the following passage:—

فلما استقر له الامر اخذ ثار ابيه من اهل منفسة (sic) فحاربهم وغلبهم على البلاد وهو اول من ملك منفسة (sic) استقلالا الى زماننا هذا (p. 9 r.)

Then when he (i.e. Ḥasan ibn Sulaimān, no. 21) became firmly established in the government, he took revenge for his father from the people of Mafia (منفسة for منفسة). He warred against them and subdued their territory. And he was the first one to rule Mafia with absolute power until our time.

²¹ p. 8 v.

²² Literally, "*pierced with a lance*", which no doubt refers to his assassination.

Dā'ūd ibn Sulaimān (nos. 20 and 22).

(داود بن سليمان)

circa A.H. 716-718; A.D. 1316-1318 (first reign).

circa A.H. 742-766; A.D. 1341-1364 (second reign).

VI. Æ .9; wt. 33.1 grs. (2.15 grms.). [Pl. VIII. 5.]

Obv. Within double circle:

داود بن
سليمان
سعد

داود بن

(sic) سليمان

سعد

Dā'ūd son of

Sulaimān.

(May he be happy!)

In centre of the field ∴.

Rev. Within double circle:

بوق مولی
الاحسان
عز

یشق بوقی

الاحسان

عز

trusts in the Master

of Beneficence.

(He is glorious!)

In centre of the field +

Rhyme: *Dā'ūd ibn Sulaimān*
yathīku bi Maula 'l-Iḥsān.

VII. Æ .95; wt. 36.1 grs. (2.34 grms.). [Pl. VIII. 6.]

Obv. As above, but in centre of the field +

Rev. As above, but without + in centre of the field.

VIII. Æ .85; wt. 32.5 grs. (2.11 grms.).

Obv. As above, but in centre of the field *

Rev. As above, but in centre of the field ‡

IX. Æ .95; wt. 43 grs. (2.78 grms.).

Obv. As above, but Sulaimān written سليمان; no mint-mark in centre of the field.

Rev. As above, but without mint-mark.

X. Æ .9; wt. 43.1 grs. (2.79 grms.).

Obv. As above.

Rev. As above, but first line لى
يشق بمو

From both the Portuguese and the Arabic Chronicles we can gather that Dā'ūd's first reign, or, more correctly, regency, was during the absence of his brother Ḥasan, who had gone to the Ḥijāz on pilgrimage and for purposes of study.²³ The Arabic Chronicle is, in fact, fuller in detail regarding this period, but, unfortunately, the present text is defective in the middle of the narrative. There is one flagrant discrepancy, too, between the Portuguese and the Arabic accounts; while the former gives Dā'ūd's second reign as lasting for 24 years, the latter has it lasting only for so many days (اربعة وعشرين يوماً). The probability is that the mistake has arisen in the Arabic transcription.

The Arabic Chronicle adds the information that Sultan Dā'ūd was zealous and pious and "*the master of the princes of his time*" (p. 9 v. صاحب البراهين في زمانه). The reference made by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa to this Sultan, which does not quite tally with this statement, has already been mentioned above (p. 48).

Sulaimān ibn al-Ḥusain (no. 26).

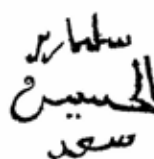
(سليمان بن الحسين)

circa A.H. 774-776; A.D. 1372-1374.

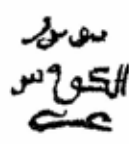
XI. Æ .85; wt. 33.2 grs. (2.15 grms.). [Pl. VIII. 7.]

Obv. Within double circle, in flowing script:

²³ "in the time of his accursed parent" (في زمان والده المطعون) adds the Arabic Chronicle (p. 9 v.).


 سليمان بن Sulaimān son of
 الحسين al-Ḥusain.
 سعد (May he be happy!)

Rev. Within double circle, in flowing script :


 يثق برب trusts in the Lord of
 الكونين the Two Creations.
 عز (He is glorious!)

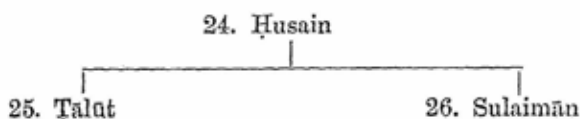
Rhyme: *Sulaimān ibn al-Ḥusain*
yathīqu bi Rabbi'l-Kaunain.

The rare description of Allah as *Rabb al-Kaunain* corresponds to the Koranic phrase *Rabb al-'Ālamīn*, Lord of Eternity (usually rendered Lord of the Two Worlds). The Dual Creations (الكونين) are the natural and the supernatural worlds of God.²⁴

Here, once more, we find a lacuna in the Arabic Chronicle, which is, however, filled by the Portuguese Chronicle and substantiated by numismatic evidence. The Portuguese account tells us that after *Taluf* (obviously an error for Ṭālūt) [no. 25] there reigned (for two years and four months) his brother called *Soleiman* [no. 26]. The Arabic Chronicle tells us that Ṭālūt was the son of Ḥusain and was succeeded in his turn by his son Ḥusain ibn Sulaimān. This latter statement is palpably absurd. Clearly there is some confusion in the text. But by combining the two accounts we can deduce the following fact, that no. 26

²⁴ For the use of كون as the supernatural, invisible treasure of Allah, see Dozy: *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, ii, p. 502.

must be Sulaimān son of Ḥusain, and, presumably, the Sultan of these coins; thus:



The fact that he had such a short reign may partly account for the scarcity of his coins in the hoard compared with the case of his predecessors.


'*Alī ibn al-Ḥasan* (no. 39).

(علي بن الحسن)

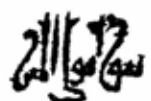
circa A.H. 885-887; A.D. 1480-1482.

XII. Æ .9; wt. 33.6 grs. (2.18 grms.). [Pl. VIII. 8.]

Obv. Within double circle:

	علي بن الحسن سعد	'Alī son of al-Ḥasan. (May he be happy!)
---	---------------------	---

Rev. Within double circle, and with crescent at top and eight-pointed star in the field:

	يثق بمولى المنن trusts in the Master of Bounties.
--	--

Rhyme: '*Alī ibn al-Ḥasan*
yathīku bi Mawla'l-Minan.

XIII. Æ .85; wt. 22.9 grs. (1.48 grms.). [Pl. VIII. 9.]

Obv. Within double circle (in three lines):

علي بن الحسن | سعد

Rev. Within double circle, with star in centre of the field (in two lines):

يثق بمولى المنن

XIV. Æ .75; wt. 18.4 grs. (1.19 grms.). [Pl. VIII. 10.]

Obv. Within double circle, with six-pointed star in centre; legend as above, but without سعد [small flan].

Rev. Within double circle, legend as above, but star replaced by ن.

The accounts given by the two Chronicles regarding this Sultan are both brief and in agreement, though the Arabic one does give a few more details, as follows:

<p>ثم تولى بعده اخوه علي بن الخطيب حسن ووزير الحسن بن سليمان واميرة المذكور [محمد كواب] ومدة ولايته سنة ونصف²⁵</p>	<p>Thereupon there ruled after him (i.e. 'Abdallah, no. 38) his brother 'Alī son of the Preacher (الخطيب) Ḥasan; and his Vizier was al-Ḥasan ibn Sulaimān and his Amīr was the afore-mentioned (Muḥammad Kiwāb). The length of his reign was a year and a half.</p>
---	---

Dā'ūd ibn al-Ḥasan

(داود بن الحسن)

circa A.D. 1460 (?).

XV. Æ .9; wt. 28.8 grs. (1.87 grms.). [Pl. IX. 11.]

Obv. Within double circle:

<p>داود بن الحسن سعد</p>	<p>داود بن الحسن سعد</p>	<p>Dā'ūd son of al-Ḥasan. (May he be happy!)</p>
----------------------------------	----------------------------------	--

²⁵ Strong has نسف by mistake (p. 423).

Rev. Within double circle:

سولادوى السنى	يشق بمولى	trusts in the Master
	العنن	of Bounties.
	عز	(He is glorious!)

Traces of star in centre of the field.

Rhyme: *Dā'ūd ibn al-Ḥasan*
yathīku bi Maula'l-Minan.

XVI. *Æ* .85; wt. 26.3 grs. (1.70 grms.). [Pl. IX. 12.]

Obv. and *rev.* similar to the above.

Of all the Sultans of Kilwa whose coins survived in Hoard A, Dā'ūd ibn al-Ḥasan is the only one who does not seem to figure in the Kilwa Chronicles. Presumably he was a brother of 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan (no. 39), since the coin style bears a marked resemblance in the two cases. In consequence, he has been included as such in the genealogical table.

al-Ḥasan ibn Sulaimān (nos. 40 and 42).

(الحسن بن سليمان)

circa A.H. 887-893; A.D. 1482-1487 (first reign).

circa A.H. 894-899; A.D. 1488-1493 (second reign).

XVII. *Æ* .9; wt. 36.9 grs. (2.39 grms.). [Pl. IX. 13.]

Obv. Within double circle:

الحسن بن سليمان عز نصره	بن	al-Ḥasan son of
	الحسن	
	سليمان	Sulaimān.
	عز نصره	(May his victory be glorious!)

Rev. Within double circle :

هو	يثق	trusts
الواحد	بالواحد	in the One (God),
المسان	المنان	the Bountiful.
ع	عز	(He is glorious !)

Rhyme: *al-Ḥasan ibn Sulaimān*
yathīku bi'l-Wāḥid al-Mannān.

XVIII. $\text{Æ } \cdot 9$; wt. 38.9 grs. (2.52 grms.).

Obv. As above.

Rev. As above, but without عز

XIX. $\text{Æ } \cdot 9$; wt. 39 grs. (2.52 grms.). [Pl. IX. 15.]

Obv. Within circle, with ب at top :

الحسن	الحسن	al-Ḥasan
بن سليمان	بن سليمان	son of Sulaimān.
اعلى الله	اعلى الله	(May Allah exalt
امره	امره	his government !)

Rev. Within circle, with star in centre of the field :

المعتمد	المعتمد	relying
على الله	على الله	upon Allah
المنان	المنان	the Bountiful.

Rhyme: *al-Ḥasan ibn Sulaimān*
al-Mu'tamid 'ala'llāh al-Mannān.

XX. $\text{Æ } \cdot 95$; wt. 38.1 grs. (2.47 grms.).

Obv. As above.

Rev. As above, but without star.

XXI. Æ .85; wt. 38 grs. (2.46 grms.). [Pl. IX. 16.]

Obv. As above.

Rev. As above, but legend:

المعتمد [على]
الله المنان
عز

XXII. Æ 1; wt. 40.9 grs. (2.65 grms.). [Pl. IX. 14.]

Obv. As no. XIX [pierced].

Rev. As no. XVIII.

XXIII. Æ .9; wt. 30.7 grs. (1.99 grms.).

Obv. (In three lines): الحسن | بن سليمان | عز نصره
Ornament at top.

Rev. As above, but with outer circle of dots.

XXIV. Æ .85; wt. 24.7 grs. (1.60 grms.).

Obv. As no. XVII.

Rev. Legend:

يثق	trusts
بالواحد	in the One (God)
المنان	the Bountiful. (May His
نصره	victory be glorious!)

It might be asked why these coins should be ascribed to this particular Sultan, instead of to his predecessor of the same name (no. 21). The answer is that the majority of them bear the new legend "*May his victory be glorious*" (عز نصره), which we already know, from other evidence, was a numismatic formula that appeared for the first time on a coin of the Egyptian Mamlūk Sultan al-Manṣūr in the year A.H. 778 (A.D. 1377),²⁶

²⁶ See M. Jungfleisch in *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*, ix (1926-27), pp. 51-5.

and which only became a regular feature of Turkish coins after A.H. 790 (A.D. 1388), which is a date that is far too late to allow us to ascribe these coins to the Sultan al-Ḥasan ibn Sulaimān, who reigned *circa* A.H. 718-742 (A.D. 1318-1341). Besides, the fact that the coins bearing this Sultan's name predominate would also indicate that the hoard was made some time during his reign, and hence must be later than the time of 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan (A.H. 885-887 = A.D. 1480-1482).²⁷

It will be seen from the collation of our two literary sources, given above, that the Arabic Chronicle gives us a much fuller account of the vicissitudes of al-Ḥasan ibn Sulaimān's career as Sultan of Kilwa. Twice deposed from the sultanate by the powerful Amīr Muḥammad, he retired, after an unsuccessful attempt to have himself reinstated, to a place called *Maghamghūb* (?) [مغم غوب], where he established a small principality. There he was succeeded in turn by his son Muḥammad and his grandson al-Ḥasan.²⁸

The following five coins and three glass weights formed part of the hoard.

Mongols of Persia.

1. Bronze coin of Hūlāgū with the name of Māngū (Möngke) as over-lord. Cf. B.M. Cat. VI, no. 1 (*circa* A.H. 658; A.D. 1260).

²⁷ This point is corroborated by the percentage of coins found in another hoard from the Island of Mafia, recently communicated to me by Mr. A. E. Robinson of St. Albans, which, in addition, contains two Portuguese coins of Alfonso V (A.D. 1438-1481). See below *Addendum*, p. 80.

²⁸ The present writer hopes to publish an English translation of the Arabic Chronicle of Kilwa since, for those unacquainted with the original, the résumé given by Strong in his edition of the text is quite inadequate.

2. Bronze coin of Muhammad Khān (A.H. 737-738; A.D. 1336-1337). Cf. B.M. Cat. VI, no. 287.
3. Bronze coin of the same ruler, with ibex in the centre. Cf. B.M. Cat. VI, no. 288.

Uncertain. Foreign (Moslem).

4. Æ .8; wt. 35.2 grs. (2.28 grms.). [Pl. IX. 21.]

Obv. Within circle, with outer margin of dots:

الله To Allah (belongs)
 الملك the Kingdom.

Rev. Within circle, with outer margin of dots:

الصّبر
 عز

(The translation of this is uncertain.)

5. Æ .85; wt. 52.9 grs. (3.43 grms.).

Obv. Partly obliterated, but traces of legend

الملك العادل al-Malik al-Ādil

Rev. Mostly obliterated; traces of kalima(?) within arabesque.

Although this bears the name of al-Malik al-Ādil, it is not likely to have any reference to the Sultan of Kilwa who bore that title (no. 29), since it is quite different in style, fabric, and weight from the local currency. Besides, this is a common title on the coins of Moslem rulers.²⁰

Glass weights.

1. Black glass, 1.05; wt. 89 grs. (5.76 grms.); in centre, hexagram device like no. 411 in Lane Poole's *Catalogue*.

²⁰ It may be pointed out, in passing, that the last Sultan of Kilwa on the list (no. 51) was also called al-Malik al-Ādil according to the tenth chapter-heading of the lost part of the Arabic Chronicle (p. 3 v.)

2. Black glass, 1; wt. 80.5 grs. (5.22 grms.); with traces of a name in the centre, perhaps احمد (Aḥmad) [badly worn].
3. Green glass, 1.05; wt. 89.3 grs. (5.79 grms.); in centre, legend: محمد درهمان (?) *Muḥammad; two dirhams.*

If this last one is correctly interpreted, it is remarkable in having the value "two dirhams" stamped on it. The weight, moreover, is in agreement.

HOARD B.

The contents of this hoard are as follows:

1. al-Ḥusain ibn Aḥmad	61
2. Ishāk ibn Ḥasan	320
Uncertain (Kilwa type)	95
Foreign (Moslem)	2
Total	<u>478</u>

Although the coins of this hoard are somewhat different in style and fabric from those of the preceding one, yet they are of the same *genre* numismatically, since they have the characteristic rhyme between obverse and reverse, and are also without any particulars regarding date and mint, which is exceptional for Moslem coins. In one respect their form of legend differs from that on the coins of Hoard A, in that there is an absence of any additional formulae, such as عز or سعد or نصره. Already in 1927 the British Museum was presented with three examples of this particular type by E. J. Wayland, Esq., of the Geological Survey of Uganda. In a letter from him (dated Dec. 3rd 1926) he states that they were discovered by him in Zanzibar. J. S. Last, Esq., the owner of Hoard B, informs me that his coins likewise emanated from the same place. There is always the

possibility, therefore, that they may have no connexion with Kilwa, beyond some family resemblance, all the more so, since neither of the rulers, named on the coins, appears in the Kilwa Chronicles. Nor, for that matter, can they be found included in the dynastic lists of Zanzibar, or among the governors of Pemba, Mafia, or Mombasa. In all probability, then, they were members of some collateral branch of the Dynasty of Kilwa, such as we know of in the case of Sultan Sulaimān (no. 37) and Sultan Ḥasan (nos. 40 and 42) above (see pp. 55, 56). But for lack of exact information it is permissible to class the coins, provisionally, under Kilwa, since they definitely belong to what may be conveniently termed the Kilwa Type.

al-Ḥusain ibn Aḥmad.

(الحسين بن احمد)

XVth cent. (?)

I. Æ 9; wt. 37.5 grs. (2.43 grms.). [Pl. IX. 19.]

Obv. Within double circle:

الحسين	الحسين	al-Ḥusain
بن احمد	بن احمد	son of Aḥmad.

Pellet in the centre of the field.

Rev. Within double circle:

يسق	يشق	trusts
الحمد	بالصمد	in the Eternal (God).

Pellet in the centre of the field.

Rhyme: *al-Ḥusain ibn Aḥmad*
yathiku bi 'l-Ṣamad.

II. Æ .85; wt. 40.6 grs. (2.63 grms.). [Pl. IX. 20.]

Obv. As above, but coarser script; small crescent at top; bottom of legend almost obliterated.

Rev. As above.

III. Æ .9; wt. 44.8 grs. (2.9 grms.).

Obv. Within double circle; legend retrograde:

يُثِقُ بِالصِّدْقِ	there trusts in the Eternal
أَحْمَدُ بْنُ	al-Ḥusain son of
أَحْمَدَ	Aḥmad.

Rev. As above.

(The legends are so badly obliterated that it is useless to illustrate this variety.)

Rhyme: As above, but lines transposed.


Ishāk ibn Ḥasan.

(أَسْحَقُ بْنُ حَسَنٍ)


XVth cent. (?)

IV. Æ .95; wt. 44.4 grs. (2.88 grms.). [Pl. IX. 17.]

Obv. Within double circle:

	أَسْحَقُ	Ishāk
	بن حسن (?)	son of Ḥasan.

Rev. Within double circle:

	بِ	trusts in the Lord
أَحْمَدُ بْنُ	أَحْمَدُ	of Laws (?).

Pellet in centre of field; second line of legend indistinct, but clearer on other specimens.

Rhyme: *Ishāk ibn Ḥasan*
yathīqu bi Rabbi 'l-Sunan.

V. Æ .95; wt. 75.4 grs. (4.89 grms.). [Pl. IX. 18.]

Obv. Blundered form of the above legend; pellet in centre and crescent at top of field; traces of third circle.

Rev. Legend as above, but much clearer.


The following two "foreign" coins were also found in Hoard B:

1. Æ 1; wt. 59.1 grs. (3.83 grms.).

2. Æ .95; wt. 57.1 grs. (3.7 grms.).

Obv. Traces of the *Kalima*, or Moslem profession of faith.

Rev. Legend partially reconstructed from both specimens. [Pl. IX. 22, 23.]

	السلطان المعظم	the Mighty Sultan
	فخر الدنيا والد	Fakhr (?) al-Dunyā wa'
	ابن أبو الخراساني	l-Dīn Abu'l-Khurāsānī (?)
	.	.

These two coins differ altogether in epigraphy and weight from the rest of the Hoard, and are no doubt importations. But to what country, or ruler, they should be ascribed is at present uncertain.

ADDENDUM.

Since I examined the above hoards, a third one has been communicated to me, by the kindness of Mr. A. E. Robinson of St. Albans. The owner is Mr. T. M. Revington, who has very generously allowed the British Museum to select any specimens of interest. The hoard came from the Island of Mafia which, as we have seen above, was under the control of the

Sultans of Kilwa at one time. The analysis of the hoard is as follows:

Sulaimān ibn al-Ḥasan	17
Dā'ud ibn Sulaimān	5
'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan	37
Dā'ud ibn al-Ḥasan	1
Hasan ibn Sulaimān	41
Uncertain (Kilwa type)	15
New type	64
Portuguese	2
Foreign (uncertain Moslem)	2
Total	<u>184</u>

Apart from the presence in the hoard of two Portuguese bronze coins of Alfonso V (1438-1481), the only outstanding feature is the large percentage of coins of a new type. Unfortunately the legends on these are considerably obliterated. So far the present writer has only been able to decipher on the obverse the central legend *بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم* ("In the name of Allah the Merciful, the Bountiful"), and on the reverse, in a very straggling script reminiscent of Mam!ūk epigraphy, the fragment of a legend that apparently reads *ناصر الدنيا والدين Nāṣir al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn*. The average weight is about 21.1 grs. (1.37 grms.). The question of their origin remains a problem.

JOHN WALKER

IV.

A LATE ROMAN HOARD FROM KIDDINGTON, OXON.

IN the summer of 1935 excavations took place on the site of the Roman villa at Lodge Farm near Ditchley, in North Oxfordshire.¹ During the process of the work Mr. H. M. Gaskell, of Kiddington Hall nearby, reported his possession of a hoard of small bronze coins found, some time previously, less than half a mile away from the villa-site, at a point NNE. of it between Box Wood and Out Wood, Kiddington.² By the kindness of its owner the hoard was removed to the Ashmolean Museum for cleaning and examination.

A detailed account of the coins is forthcoming in the first volume of *Oxoniensia*, to be published in 1936. The hoard was originally contained in a pot, the curves of which had been reproduced on parts of the half-solidified mass of coins which filled it; but of this pot only a few fragments survive, and it is probable that it was broken, in the processes of cultivation, some long time before the hoard was discovered. The total of 1,176 coins is made up as follows:

¹ Summary report in *Antiquity*, 1935, 472-6; detailed report in *Oxoniensia*, i (1936), forthcoming.

² Cf. the 6" O. S. of Oxfordshire. The find-spot of the present hoard should not, however, be mistakenly identified with the site distinguished on this map by the mention of Roman coins.

The Manning MSS. preserved in the Ashmolean record yet another Kiddington hoard, of 70 *Æ*, found last century near Out Wood.

1 Claudius Gothicus	7 Eugenius
9 Radiate copies, &c.	67 Valentinian II
12 Constantine I	88 Theodosius I
5 Constantine II	218 Arcadius
2 Constantius II	78 Honorius
7 Constans	458 House of Theodo-
18 Constantius II or Con-	sus I
stans	4 Barbarous copies of
14 House of Constantine I	"Theodosian" issues
3 Julian	10 Blanks
4 Valens	140 Illegible, mostly
6 Gratian	"Theodosian" issues
12 House of Valentinian I	12 Fragments
12 Magnus Maximus	
3 Victor	
1 Magnus Maximus or	1,176 Total.
Victor	

Of this total, 844 coins are of the *Victoria Augg* and *Salus Reipublicae* types falling between A.D. 388 and 395; a conspectus of them is printed separately (p. 85). Analysis of the mint-marks gives results in general agreement with those of recent researches into hoards of this class. It will be noted that the second *officina* of Lyons is not represented. The greater illegibility of Eastern as compared with Western issues (a feature characteristic of parallel hoards) is strongly marked. No coin from the mint of Thessalonica can be identified.

The hoard includes a number of coins of irregular fabric, especially among the radiate and Constantinian issues, and, though they form only a very small fraction of the total number of coins, they deserve mention; some coins, moreover, have been intentionally reduced in size. Thus the earliest coin, of Claudius Gothicus, has been cut down to 14 mm., and the group of radiates (composed chiefly of copies) shows sizes from 15 to 11.5 mm. There are about a dozen copies in the Con-

stantinian series, of the *Gloria Exercitus* and *Fel. Temp. Reparatio* types; of the latter there are four Æ 4 examples, crude and much worn. In contrast to these rubbed coins, one *Fel. Temp. Reparatio* copy is worthy of note not only for its fresh condition but also for the vigorous, if clumsy, style of its portraiture which, combined with the advanced disintegration of the reverse design, suggests that this may differ from the other copies of this prototype by being a product of the late fourth or the early fifth century.

New interest has been given to the question of when hoards of this class were buried since Professor R. G. Collingwood read his remarkable paper on Feb. 11, 1936, to the Roman Society. In this he argued for some kind of reoccupation of South-east Britain from about A.D. 417 to 430. Although "Theodosian" hoards of Æ 4 do not, except rarely, include coins which can with certainty be dated after A.D. 395, the latest issues are generally fairly well worn, and it is on all grounds natural to suppose that the latest Æ 4 issues continued to circulate normally in Britain, and even perhaps to enter Britain to some degree, down to A.D. 410. The rescript of Honorius would lead, more or less directly, to a certain amount of hoarding; but should we necessarily allow ourselves to conclude that, whether Britain received a *Comes* from A.D. 417 or not, the bulk of the currency was for all practical purposes immobilized after A.D. 410? Such an hypothesis seems unlikely, if only because the currency-habit dies hard: it is more probable that the obsolescence of currency was first seen in a steady deterioration in the quality of currency. We may, perhaps, detect this intermediate stage just beginning in the present hoard; the little group of

KIDDINGTON HOARD

Mint-marks, A.D. 388-95

VICTORIA AVGGG (Single Victory to l.)
SALUS REIPUBLICAE (Victory, with captive, to l.)

	ARLES I II III	LYONS I II	TRIER	MINT UNCERTAIN	AQU- LEIA I II	ROME I II III IV V	ANTIOCH	THESSALO- NICA	MINT UNCERTAIN	TOTAL
VALENTINIAN II . . .	14 — 1 +2	2 —	—	17	3 2 +2	1 — 2 — — +3	—	—	11	60
THEODOSIUS I . . .	— 14 — +6	3 —	1	17	2 1 +2	— — 2 — 3 +5	—	—	28	84
ARCADIUS	11 2 11 +20	10 — +1	7	93	7 3 +4	— — — — 1 +2	2	—	22	196
HONORIUS	— 1 8 +3	3 —	—	16	2 — +1	— — 1 — — +12*	—	—	18	65
HOUSE OF THEODOSIUS I	17 6 13 +39	5 — +11	4	148	2 2 +6	3 — — — 1 +8	—	—	174	439
OFFICIAL TOTALS . .	42 23 33	23 —	—	—	16 8	4 — 5 — 5	—	—	—	—
GRAND TOTALS . . .	168	35	12	291	39	44	2	—	253	844

* Including 11 coins with the unspirated legend.

blanks, some of them clipped from thin sheet-metal, suggests a period in which any piece of copper might have a potential value as currency. It has been rightly observed that the number of Theodosian hoards is remarkably large in comparison with the scarcity of stray Theodosian coins in site-finds. This number is probably to be explained partly by the increasing dangers and uncertainties of everyday existence and partly by the quickly appreciating value of the old currency. There is, indeed, no reason why these hoards should not have been buried ten or even twenty years after Honorius's rescript.

Site-finds from North Oxfordshire and its environs do not contradict a late date for the Kiddington hoard. The coins from Bicester, Alchester, Chipping Norton, and the Ditchley villa itself in Oxfordshire, as also those from King's Sutton just across the boundary in Northants., include many Theodosian issues conspicuous for their worn condition.³ Such coins provide evidence in themselves of the length of their circulation. Perhaps the circumstances and causes which governed the concealment of the Kiddington hoard were parallel to those of the Nobottle (Northants.) hoard. The latter, in the opinion of Mr. B. H. St. J. O'Neil,⁴ is a late instance of its class; and Mr. O'Neil has pointed out the significance of the burial of a late hoard on high ground in a period when immigration up the main east-to-west river valleys was either imminent or an accomplished fact. But Nobottle is only just outside the area—embraced in a triangle by the Fosse Way, Akeman

³ These site-finds are all in the Ashmolean Museum.

⁴ *Num. Chron.*, 1930, 275-281.

Street, and Watling Street—in which there occur the Kiddington hoard and the late Oxfordshire site-finds. The characteristic features of this area are, first, its position well to the north of the main stream of the Thames, and second, its coincidence with the rising ground of the long north-east extension of the Cotswold range. The Kiddington hoard, therefore, may probably be regarded as symbolical of a period not earlier than A.D. 410, in which organized life away from the valleys was still possible, though prudence dictated the burial of a man's hoard at a safe distance from his house, which itself lay at the mercy of robbers or even (as has been suggested by Professor Collingwood) of a rebellious peasantry.

C. H. V. SUTHERLAND.

MISCELLANEA.

THE SUPPOSED IDALIAN STATER OF ARGALOS.

The ingenious interpretation of the reading on a stater of Idalium proposed by Mr. Dikaïos in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1935, pp. 282 f., will not, unfortunately, bear examination. To give the name *Argalos*, the sign for *ra* would have to be read as if it were *ar*. But this is contrary to the system of the Cypriote syllabary. *Ar* in *Argalos* would be represented by the sign for *a* followed by that for *ra*. "Argal" (as the First Clown in *Hamlet* would say) the theory of Mr. Dikaïos falls to the ground, unless he can find an initial *a*-sign on the coin.

GEORGE HILL.

V.

THE PALMYRENE PRINCES AND THE MINTS OF ANTIOCH AND ALEXANDRIA.¹

[SEE PLATES X-XI.]

THE object of the present paper is to examine the behaviour of the Eastern mints of Rome—primarily, that is to say, of Antioch and Alexandria—during the period of Palmyrene greatness, from *circa* A.D. 258 to 271, and to see what light the coinage throws upon the history. That a large part of the East was under the virtual rule of Palmyra during these years is denied by no one; the implications of the fact for coinage have not yet been fully realized.

When in the summer of A.D. 253 the legions of Rhaetia conferred the purple on Valerian and enforced his claim against the rough soldier, Aemilian, there must have been a general feeling that the gods were mindful of the Roman commonweal. The new Emperor was a man of tried merit both in peace and in war, and, if his advanced years might seem to some a source of weakness, he had a son in the prime of life on whom he could lean. Had any one in A.D. 253 predicted that within some six years one Emperor would be captive in the hands of the Persians, the other fighting for dear life in a welter of civil and foreign wars, he would have been met with contemptuous and angry derision. Yet so it was written in the

¹ Reference should be constantly made to the pioneer work of A. von Sallet, *Die Fürsten von Palmyra*, Berlin, 1866.

books of fate. Rome's latest hour, the hour of darkness, was at hand. Of the many strange vicissitudes of that strange and terrible time we will select one series for special study—the vicissitudes of the East, divided between Persian, Palmyrene, and Roman, from A.D. 258 to 272, from Valerian the captive to Aurelian the restorer.

What was this city of Palmyra that suddenly shone with such amazing brilliance? ² Palmyra—the Tadmor of the Bible—lies at the junction of three desert routes, leading from Emesa, Damascus, and Bostra, respectively, and passing on beyond it to Dura and Seleucia. It comes late into general history. It was not before something like 100 B.C. that Dura became a strong Parthian fort, and the rise of Palmyra is in no case earlier than this date. Under the settlement of Augustus, Palmyra probably acquired new importance in a semi-independent position between Rome and Parthia. Certainly as early as the reign of Tiberius she was flourishing and brilliant. Trajan's occupation of Mesopotamia might have radically affected the position of Palmyra, had not Hadrian abandoned the new province on his accession. Under Marcus Aurelius we find a Roman garrison in Palmyra. Septimius Severus conferred colonial rank on the city, and its aristocrats became Roman citizens. The rise of the Sassanid Empire of Persia engrossed the attention of Rome in a way that Parthia had never done, and new possibilities for Palmyra began to appear. One great family, that of the Iulii Aurelii Septimii,

² For a fuller account of Palmyra see Rostovtzeff, *Caravan Cities*, Oxford, pp. 91 ff.

came to the fore and directed the destinies of its country. We find Odenathus, father of the Odenathus of our period, as *procurator*, *iuridicus*, and *argapetes* (military governor). When Palmyra's hour struck in A.D. 258 she was not unprepared for it. Of the religion of Palmyra we need say little here: it included many and varied deities, drawn from various sources, but the gods of Palmyra, *par excellence*, were the great three, Bel the Lord, with Yarhibol and Aglibol, Sun and Moon, as his fellows.

We must glance next at the course of history, marking events in their proper order, and assigning possible dates; in some cases evidence for these dates will be found later in our inquiry.³ It was apparently during the year A.D. 256 that Valerian left Rome to meet the Persian menace in the East, leaving the West with its armies in the charge of his son, Gallienus. The new Persian Empire, under the able and arrogant Sapor, was an enemy of another character than the unenterprising Parthian. Antioch, the capital of Syria, had been betrayed to him by a worthless deserter, Cyriades, and was in his hands. Here our tradition partly fails us. Valerian recovered Antioch and made some beginnings of restoration. The dubious tradition of the "Historia Augusta" makes him attend a conference of notables at Byzantium in A.D. 258,⁴ while a more reliable tradition makes him summon to his assistance at Antioch the Successianus who had distinguished himself by defending Pityus against the marauding Goths.⁵

³ H. M. D. Parker's *History of the Roman World from A.D. 138-337*, London, 1935, will be found invaluable here. Fuller references to the history here narrated will be found in his notes.

⁴ Vopiscus, *Divus Aurelianus*, ch. 13.

⁵ Zosimus, i. 32.

It is certain, then, that Valerian's presence in the East fell in the time of these great raids, but not probable that he took any personal part in repelling them. We find him next at Edessa, facing the Persian king after a preliminary success, short of provisions and uncertain of the loyalty of his men. He ventures incautiously to a conference with the foe, is treacherously taken prisoner and held captive till his death.⁶ The date of the captivity is almost certainly A.D. 258. Later it can hardly be, for we have a sequence of events following the captivity of Valerian that takes up the years A.D. 258 to 260-261, and cannot well be forced forward to any later dates. It is not likely to be earlier—A.D. 257—for though the latest dated coins of Valerian are of his **TR·P·V**, A.D. 256 to 257, and though the cessation of dated coins is likely to have some connexion with the end of his effective rule, an edict of persecution against the Christians was published in A.D. 258, and St. Cyprian was martyred in the autumn of that same year.⁷ As Gallienus, when left to himself, reversed the policy of his father, it is unlikely that the persecution continued any long period after the captivity of Valerian.⁸

In the East, Sapor did not use this victory to the full. While Syria fell into his hands, he pressed his conquests in Cappadocia and Cilicia and acquired an immense booty. But the Roman troops under Mac-

⁶ Zosimus, i. 36; Zonaras, xii. 23; Eutropius, viii. 7.

⁷ Ruinart, *Acta Martyrum*, pp. 262, 263. The "Valerian Caesar" referred to with Valerian and Gallienus is probably Saloninus Valerianus.

⁸ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, vii, ch. xiii, says "when Valerian had not been long in barbarian captivity".

rian I and Ballista rallied at Samosata ; a victory was won at Corycus in Cilicia, and Odenathus, the powerful Sheikh of Palmyra, whom Sapor had unwisely driven into opposition, joined forces with the Romans and harried Sapor's return march, cutting off a large part of his booty. Valerian went with his captor. There is some doubt about his exact fate and the exact year of his death ; it is certain that he died after some years of dishonoured captivity. Strange that he did not "free his soul" the Roman way ! When the immediate menace from Persia was past, the question of the future government of the East became urgent. Odenathus had shown definite Roman sympathies, striving harder for the recovery of Valerian than Gallienus himself. But Gallienus, with his hands full elsewhere, brought no aid, and the Roman army of the East proclaimed its own Emperors, Macrian II and Quietus, sons of Macrian the elder, and, with more courage than consideration, proposed to conquer the whole of the Roman Empire. For the time the new Emperors were generally accepted. Macrian II could advance with a large force through Asia Minor into Thrace to seek a decision with Gallienus, while Quietus stood on guard in the neighbourhood of Emesa. A diversion in Greece, in which Piso, a supporter of Macrian II and Quietus, was worsted and slain by the proconsul of Achaea, Valens, did not seriously affect the general situation. Somewhere in the Balkans—the site is quite unknown—Macrian II met Domitianus, a general serving under Aureolus, Gallienus's master of the horse, and suffered complete defeat. When the news of his disaster reached the East, Odenathus, in the name of Gallienus, summoned Emesa and there destroyed Quietus and all

that was left of his cause. Odenathus now began to rank as vicegerent of Gallienus in the Eastern provinces, receiving recognition from him in increasing measure.⁹ He took the offensive against Persia and penetrated as far as Ctesiphon, the old Parthian capital.¹⁰ Gallienus allowed him the proud title of "vir clarissimus rex imperator dux romanorum" and placed Roman troops under his command.¹¹ Late in A.D. 266 or early in A.D. 267 Odenathus was killed in a family feud: his wife Zenobia, "queen and huntress, chaste and fair", succeeded him and ruled in the name of her little son, Vaballathus.¹² The ambitious queen claimed for the son the full honours of his father, but Gallienus, perhaps less encumbered than before by Western cares, refused to admit the claim and sent his general Heraclian against Persia. Zenobia defeated him in battle and maintained by force the position won by Odenathus.¹³

In the West, Gallienus had had little leisure from war and rebellion. Following on the news of the taking of Valerian, Ingenuus revolted in Moesia. Gallienus moved from Gaul to oppose him, leaving Postumus in charge of his son, Saloninus.¹⁴ Gallienus put down Ingenuus (autumn 258?) and a second rebel, Regalianus (early 259 (?)), but in Gaul the able Postumus made away with Saloninus and declared an

⁹ Zonaras, xii. 23, 24; *Vita Gallieni*, 10. 1; *Triginta Tyranni*, 15.

¹⁰ Zosimus, i. 39.

¹¹ The full title is recorded on coins of Vaballathus: it was certainly borne by his father before him.

¹² Zosimus, i. 39.

¹³ *Vita Gallieni*, 13. 4-5.

¹⁴ Victor, *De Caesaribus*, 33. 1. 2, *Triginta Tyranni*, 3. 1-2, 9. 1.

independent "Empire of the Gauls"—at earliest near the end of 258, more probably in the summer of 259.¹⁵ Gallienus, after a desperate effort, renewed more than once, was compelled to accept the accomplished fact. Late in the reign the Goths began their raids anew, and Gallienus's generals won considerable victories in Illyricum. Finally, Aureolus, in league with Postumus, led the armies of Rhaetia against Gallienus. Gallienus shut up the rebel in Milan, but his own staff had ceased to have faith in him and contrived his death. The able and well-loved Claudius was chosen in his stead.

The short reign of Claudius was devoted to one main problem—the repulse of the Goths. Content to solve that, he cared little for the moment about Gallic Empire in the West or Palmyrene ascendancy in the East. Zenobia still ruled in the name of her little son, Vaballathus. Coinage in the name of Claudius continued to be struck at Antioch and Alexandria, in the name of Quintillus at Alexandria only. We shall have to consider later what is implied in this coinage. Relations between Rome and Palmyra were certainly not entirely satisfactory, for in A.D. 269 the Palmyrene general, Zabdas, invaded Egypt, and, after one defeat, made good his hold on the province, while, by the time of the death of Claudius, Zenobia was aiming at the occupation of Asia Minor as far north as the Propontis.¹⁶

Quintillus, brother of Claudius, fell almost without

¹⁵ Zosimus, i. 38. Eutropius, ix. 9. Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 344, n. 26, concludes that A.D. 259 is the probable date for the beginning of Postumus's reign.

¹⁶ Cp. Zosimus, i. 44; *Vita Claudii*, 11. I. 2.

resistance when the mighty Aurelian claimed the throne. But the first year of the new reign hardly gave promise of its later grandeur. Aurelian was heavily engaged with barbarian invaders in Pannonia and the North of Italy, and sustained a defeat near Placentia that was almost disastrous. At Rome, too, the Senate was distrustful and distrusted, and the "war of the moneyers" led to terribly costly rioting in the streets of Rome. It is generally assumed that the appearance of Vaballathus beside Aurelian on coins of Antioch and Alexandria implies a recognition of the Palmyrene prince by the Roman Emperor.¹⁷ We shall have to ask a little later whether this is really the true reading of the facts. In any case, Aurelian was soon free to make a settlement with Palmyra. One sharp campaign in A.D. 271-272 broke the resistance of the desert city and gave Zenobia into Aurelian's hands. A desperate revolt in A.D. 273 was struck down without delay or mercy. The brilliant episode of Palmyrene greatness had reached its close.

We turn now to the coins to see what light they have to throw on the history that we have been discussing, and begin with Alexandria, where, apart from one grave *crux* of dating, the problems are relatively simple. Alexandria, of course, is still striking its local money—very base billon tetradrachms and rare copper pieces—and still using its local era, beginning on August 30; the first year of each Emperor is reckoned up to August 29, the second year begins on the next day. We have coins of Valerian I and

¹⁷ Homo, *Essai sur le règne de l'Empereur Aurélien*, pp. 66 ff.; Rohde, *Die Münzen des Kaisers Aurelian*, etc., pp. 260-265.

Gallienus from year **A** to **H** (1 to 8), coins of Salonina from year **B** to **H** (2 to 8), of Valerian II, eldest son of Gallienus, from year **B** to **E** (2 to 5), of Saloninus, second son of Gallienus, from year **E** to **H** (5 to 8). In year 8 the coinage of Valerian I, Salonina, and Saloninus suddenly breaks off, and we find next a new series of Gallienus alone, showing several minor changes in detail which persist into later years. At about this point—in year 8, it has been thought, after the first coinage and before the second (of Gallienus alone)—come the usurpers Macrian II and Quietus, who have year **A** (1) only on their Alexandrine coins. From year **Θ** (9) to year **ΙΕ** (15) we have coins of Gallienus, a new issue for Salonina from year **ΙΑ** to **ΙΕ** (11–15). Next come Claudius with three Alexandrine years, Quintillus with one, and Aurelian with seven. In year **A** of Aurelian we have, first, coins of Aurelian alone, then coins of Aurelian (year **A**=1) and Vaballathus (year **Δ**=4). This series continues into year **B** (2) of Aurelian and year **E** (5) of Vaballathus, but before the end of the year Aurelian is alone again, and continues so till the end of his reign.¹⁸

It is commonly held by students of papyri that Valerian I and Gallienus were not recognized in Egypt until after August 29, 253, and that their first Egyptian year is therefore A.D. 253 to 254, not A.D. 252 to 253. In favour of this view are (1) the fact that Gallienus has only fifteen Alexandrine years (his year 15 on this reckoning extends from A.D. 267 to 268), and (2) that a number of datings in papyri indubitably support

¹⁸ Cp. B.M.C., *Alexandria and the Nomes*; J. Vogt, *Die alexandrischen Münzen*, Stuttgart, 1924.

this reckoning. In spite, however, of the strong case presented on these lines by A. Stein,¹⁹ and still, it appears, generally accepted, this view cannot be so readily admitted. In the first place, the length of Gallienus's reign is normally reckoned at fifteen years; as he certainly died early in A.D. 268, this takes us back into early A.D. 253 for his accession. At Rome, Valerian I and Gallienus renew their tribunician power at some date earlier than December 10 in A.D. 253.²⁰ Gallienus reaches his sixteenth tribunician power, while coins of great rarity even give him a seventeenth.²¹ A consideration of the general history of the time and of the dates of Viminacium and other mints makes it impossible to doubt that Valerian I was Emperor in Rome well before the end of August 253.²² Is it credible, then, that Alexandria persisted with an era of its own, which invited attention to the slowness of the mint to accept the new Emperor?

We have in our hands the means of settling the problem beyond all reasonable doubt. Valerian's captivity, we have seen, was not later than A.D. 258; it was followed by the revolt of Ingenuus, and that was followed in its turn by the revolt of Postumus in Gaul and the murder of Saloninus. The last events clearly fall late 258 to mid 259; no other date is, in fact, possible, in view of the history and dating of the Gallic

¹⁹ *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, vii and viii; cp. articles in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, xiii and xiv.

²⁰ Cp. *J.R.S.*, 1935, p. 58, n. 10.

²¹ Mattingly and Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, v. 1 (Webb), p. 184, nos. 604, 605.

²² Cp. Mattingly in *J.R.S.*, 1935 ("The reign of Aemilian"), pp. 55 ff., G. Elmer in *N.Z.*, 1935 ("Die Münzprägung von Viminacium", etc.), pp. 38 ff.

Empire.²³ As Saloninus, then, was murdered in 259 at latest, the Alexandrine year H (8) in which he still has coins must be A.D. 259-260, not 260-261; the first year, then, is A.D. 252 to 253.

The historians are in some doubt as to which son of Gallienus was put to death by Postumus, but the Alexandrine coins show that it can only have been the younger; Valerian II disappears in the course of year 5, A.D. 256-257, or A.D. 257-258, on the later count, and even that is too early for Postumus. Alföldi has grasped the nettle and placed the captivity of Valerian, the revolt of Postumus, and the murder of Saloninus all in A.D. 260. This bold solution entails a very free treatment of the historical record and insuperable difficulties with the dating of the Gallic Emperors. It must therefore be rejected. The first year of Valerian I and Gallienus, then, is A.D. 252 to 253. The papyri that contradict this system show unofficial reckoning—possibly purely erroneous, perhaps a system of reckoning the years of the Emperor in actual twelve-month periods, unfettered by the artificial arrangement in use in the higher officialdom. In A.D. 259 to 260, a change comes over the coinage. Saloninus, murdered in Gaul, naturally disappears. Valerian I, now captive for some two years in Persia, is finally given up as lost. The reason for the cessation of issues of Salonina is less clear. J. G. Milne has proved a break in the coinage of year 8, and has argued

²³ Cp. especially Sture Bolin, *Die Chronologie der gallischen Kaiser*, especially p. 49, and Webb in M. & S., *R.I.C.*, v. 2, pp. 325 ff. Postumus certainly died soon after Gallienus, i.e. during A.D. 268. He has ten years of tribunician power. That takes his accession back into A.D. 259, at latest.

strongly for placing the usurpation of Macrian and Quietus inside this year and ending the year with the new issue of Gallienus.²⁴ But the dates of Macrian and Quietus on papyri do not fit in at all well, and no final solution is yet possible. I suggest the following as provisional. In autumn A.D. 259 the old coinage ends—the news of the revolt of Macrian and Quietus probably giving the signal. A new coinage of Gallienus is set on foot, but after a short time is succeeded by coins of Macrian and Quietus of year A. Presumably these should be dated A.D. 260–261, rather than A.D. 259 to 260. In any case, the indications of

²⁴ In *Ancient Egypt*, 1917, Part IV, "The Alexandrian Coinage of the Eighth year of Gallienus".

Dates of Macrian II & Quietus :

Year A. 1. Thoth (August 30), *P. Flor.* 273 – ? a reliable entry.

2. Phaophi (Sept. 29) *P. Oxy.* 1476.

27. Phaophi (Oct. 24) *P. Grenf.* i. 50.

P. Strasb. 6–8 gives

Year A. 4. Phaophi (October 1).

27. Phamenoth (March 23).

Year B. 3. Hathyr (October 30).

then Gallienus, year Θ.

4. Pharmouthi (March 30).

Wilcken, *Griech. Ostraka*. 1474 has year 8 of Valerian and Gallienus, 30 Mecheir (February 24).

P. Lips. i. 57, 10 Phamenoth (March 6), refers to the 7th year of "ἡ πρὸ ταύτης βασιλεία".

In Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, vii. 23, the usurpation seems to come after the seventh and before the ninth year of Gallienus, that is to say, it falls mainly at least, in the eighth year—A.D. 260. If we suppose that Macrian II and Quietus rebelled in summer 259 and were recognized in Egypt during a considerable part of 260, we shall not be far off the mark.

papyri with two years and of coins with one only are not to be harmonized completely.

The "δεκαετηρίς" ("vota decennalia") of Gallienus falls in his Egyptian year I (10)²⁵; as celebration regularly began with the beginning, not with the completed tenth year (i.e. with TR•P•X, A.D. 261-262, not TR•P•XI, A.D. 262-263), our date for year 10, A.D. 261-262, is at least as much in place as the other reckoning, A.D. 262-263. A notable type of year IA (11), suggesting victories (Ares, Victory and Serapis), will belong to A.D. 263-264, and will probably bear on the Eastern victories of Odenathus.²⁶ From this time on we must consider Palmyra as a factor in the problem. Under the concordat agreed upon between Gallienus and Vaballathus, the nominal authority in the East lay indeed with Gallienus, but the powers of a vicegerent were exercised by Odenathus. It is an open question whether Egypt was included under this scheme or stood apart. If our date, as we are now confident, is right, we must admit Palmyrene influence from the last years of Gallienus, if not earlier. For with year IE (15), A.D. 266-267, Gallienus's Egyptian reign ends, and we are left with a blank year IΣ (16), only doubtfully recorded on rare coins and papyri. The cessation of dated coinage of Gallienus at Antioch in his TR•P•XV suggests an obvious explanation.²⁷ At both mints, issue in the name of Gallienus was suspended when it was discovered that he was un-

²⁵ B.M.C., *Alexandria and the Nomes*, p. 291, no. 2240.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 288, no. 2211.

²⁷ M. & S., *R.I.C.*, v. 1 (Webb), pp. 184-185, nos. 603 ff. The coins with TR•P•XVI, XVII, are of Cyzicus, not Antioch.

willing to continue to Vaballathus the honours held by his father. Claudius, as we have seen, had some practical *modus vivendi* with Palmyra; hence the Alexandrine coinage in his name, uninterrupted even by the invasion of Egypt by Palmyrene forces.²⁸ It is unnecessary to suppose that Alexandria held out for Claudius, while the rest of Egypt yielded.

The policy of Zenobia was not to renounce allegiance to Claudius, but to claim, by force of arms if need be, the position that she desired for Palmyra within that allegiance. The sudden appearance of Vaballathus beside Aurelian in the first year of the latter now takes on a new appearance.²⁹ The mint of Alexandria presumably, as the mint of Antioch certainly, is now in Palmyrene hands. It is not therefore a concession by Aurelian, but an usurpation by Palmyra that the Palmyrene ruler now appears on one side of the coin. The apparent modesty of the titulature—Vaballathus has only the titles of Odenathus, $\Upsilon \text{ AYT C P}\Omega$ (*ὑπατικὸς αὐτοκράτωρ στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων*), beside the "Emperor" of Aurelian—must not deceive us. The right of coinage, now claimed, had never been assumed by Odenathus himself, and the next step, as might have been expected, is the striking of coins in the names of Zenobia and Vaballathus alone [Pl. XI. 13, 14]. Vaballathus, we see, has an Egyptian era in which year Δ is A.D. 269 to 270, year E A.D. 270–271; this implies accession in A.D. 266–267, and may be held to suggest a claim to the secondary position in Egypt

²⁸ A. von Sallet, *op. cit.*, pp. 44, 45, conjectures that Probus was the pretender and that Vaballathus recovered Egypt for Claudius.

²⁹ Cf. Pl. XI. 11, 12, coins of Aurelian and Vaballathus of years 1–4, 2–5.

from that time on. This should help to explain the absence of coins of A.D. 267-268 for Gallienus; his refusal to recognize Vaballathus led to the intermission of his own issue. In the course of A.D. 270-271 Palmyra threw off the mask and definitely strove for Empire: before the end of August A.D. 271, Probus had recovered Egypt and Aurelian was striking again in his own sole name. For the first time for some ten years, Egypt was freed from the shadow of the Palmyrene domination.

The problems of the mint of Antioch are more numerous and varied than those of Alexandria. In the case of Alexandria, we know the coins of the mint beyond all possible doubt, and we are usually certain of the years too—the uncertainty for Valerian I and Gallienus is the exception, not the rule. With Antioch, the case is different, partly because a large part of the coins is undated, partly because, for convenience, we group under this one mint a number of coinages not all certainly struck within the walls of that one city.

The first group of Valerian I and Gallienus that concerns us is that attributed by Webb to Viminacium,³⁰ but, since Pink's recent essay,³¹ certainly to be assigned to the East, and probably to Antioch itself. As neither Salonina nor Valerian II shares in the coinage we are inclined at once to place it very early in the reign, and, in fact, the only date for Valerian is

³⁰ M. & S., *R.I.C.*, v. 1, pp. 54, 55, nos. 207-227; pp. 90, 91, nos. 287-301.

³¹ *Num. Chron.*, 1935, pp. 94 ff. Pink himself is concerned with the coins of Gordian III and Philip I, but his argument must apply equally to the kindred issues of Valerian I and Gallienus.

TR•P•II COS•, A.D. 253, or, supposing the number of the consulship to be omitted, A.D. 253-254. The style continues that of a well-known series of Gordian III and Philip. The types are in part in the normal Roman tradition (e.g. "Aequitas Augg.", "Laetitia Augg.", "Romae Aeternae", "Victoria Augg."), but others are characteristic, and possibly local, in interest, e.g. "Aeternitati Augg." with type of Saturn, "Felicitas Saeculi" with type of Diana, "Fortuna Redux" represented by Mercury, "Restitutor Generis Humani", the Emperor, as Sol, raising right hand and holding globe. The types of Gallienus follow the same lines as those of his father. The limits of date seem to be A.D. 253 to 254.

The second issue is in a style distinct from the former, but still clearly Eastern and consistent with what we know of the Syrian district.³² The one date of Valerian, TR•P•V COS•III• [Pl. X. 1] falls to the year A.D. 257, and the rest of the coinage, which forms a fairly self-consistent class, may well be grouped a little on either side of that date. Aurei, which were very rare in the first issue, are now rather more freely struck, and Salonina and first Valerian II, and then Saloninus, share in the coinage. The types show some contact with the first issue, as, for instance, "Laetitia Augg.", "Romae Aeternae". "Victoria Parthica" suggests a definite success against the Persians ("Parthians"), while "Restitutor Orientis", Valerian receiving a wreath from Oriens, suggests the hope rested on

³² M. & S., *R.I.C.*, v. 1, pp. 59, 60, nos. 273-297; pp. 102-104, nos. 431-462; pp. 114, 115, nos. 62-74; pp. 121, 122, nos. 44-54; p. 127, nos. 35-37.

Valerian's coming—perhaps the actual restoration of Antioch.

The dated coin, **P•M•TR•P•V COS•IIII P•P•**, shows Valerian and Gallienus, as colleagues in arms in defence of their Empire [Pl. X. 1], while "*Concordia Augg.*" celebrates the harmony of purpose that binds them. "*Pietas Augg.*" [Pl. X. 2] and "*Virtus Augg.*" again illustrate the co-operation of the Emperors in different walks of life. "*Vota Orbis S.C.*; two Victories", suggests hopes of victory, connected with the celebration of the completion of the first five years' vows—a celebration which normally extends from the beginning to the end of the Emperor's fifth tribunician year—here, A.D. 256 to 257. The coinage of Gallienus is ampler than that of his father, includes some types not known for him, and shows mint-marks—a star, or wreath—that never occur on his coinage. It also shows the singular **AVG•** instead of the plural **AVGG•** in a number of types. The issue of Gallienus clearly outlasts that of Valerian, and possibly runs its later course at another mint. Voetter has observed a change of style in the coinage that may be significant. We find the late mint-marks on coins of Salonina and Saloninus, but not on those of Valerian II. Reading this coinage in the light of history we can reconstruct the probable course of events. The first coinage of Valerian I and Gallienus was interrupted by the Persian invasion, which will now be dated A.D. 255, or even late A.D. 254. Antioch falls into the hands of Sapor in A.D. 255 and is held by him for about a year. Valerian is not slow to answer the call, and during 256, at latest, takes the field in the East. The new coinage marks his arrival and his restoration

of Antioch. As the coinage outlasts his actual reign, it will continue past his captivity into A.D. 259. After the captivity of Valerian, Antioch probably fell again into Persian hands. In that case, the later coinage might be at some other mint, better protected by the surviving Roman forces in the East. Apart from features already observed, we note in this coinage a marked preference for two-figure types and an originality of flavour in the type of Saloninus of "Dii Nutritores" [Pl. X. 3], Jupiter presenting a victory to the Prince; both the conception and the rendering of it are unique in Roman coinage. The prominence given to Valerian II, especially in military aspect as "Princeps Iuventutis", or in connexion with war and the army ("Victoria German.", "Victoria Part.", "Fides Militum"), strongly suggests that he was accompanying his grandfather on the expedition.

After this second issue, A.D. 256 to 259, there is an intermission of coinage of Gallienus—no doubt to be explained, as at Alexandria, by the intrusion of the usurpers, Macrian II and Quietus. We have seen reason above to place their usurpation in A.D. 260; it may have begun in A.D. 259, it certainly continued into A.D. 261. The mint of the coins of these pretenders is Eastern, and in a general sense Syrian: it is not identical in style with either of the two groups which we have been discussing or of those which we have still to discuss [Pl. X. 4-6]. It is probable then that the mint was at the Army Headquarters of the pretenders, which we know to have been at Emesa. The general spirit of the types is Roman, but we notice a few curious details such as the spelling AEQVTAS for AEQVITAS, or SOL INVICTO [Pl.

X. 5] for SOLI INVICTO. Diana ("Conservatrici Aug.") may be a local Moon-goddess.³³

The rebellion of Macrian II and Quietus was broken in Europe and crushed in Asia fairly early in A.D. 261. The next issue of Gallienus centres round coins dated TR•P•XII and TR•P•XIII (A.D. 263-264, 264-265), and, although it may contain earlier undated coins, it seems more probable that there is actually an interval between it and the coinage of Macrian II and Quietus.³⁴ Of the state of Syria, and of Antioch, in particular, in the years following the captivity of Valerian we have no exact knowledge. For the first year or two they were probably exposed to the Persians: thereafter, as the Persian menace receded, they may have come under the control of Macrian II and Quietus. A little later there is no doubt that Odenathus, taking the offensive against Persia, restored the East and received recognition by Gallienus, with powers of a viceroy and the virtual government, civil and military, of the Romans there. This new coinage, then, is issued in Syria, probably at Antioch, in the name of Gallienus, but actually under the immediate control of Odenathus [Pl. X. 7, 10, 11]. A further great issue, of the same mintage, is distinguished by imperial dates, TR•P•XV COS•VII, or COS•VII and TR•P•XV separate (i.e. A.D. 266, A.D. 266-267) [Pl. X. 8, 9].³⁵ As Odenathus died at just this time, this would seem to

³³ For the coins, cp. M. & S., *R.I.C.*, v. 2, pp. 580-583. Of the two mint-marks, star and pellet (pellets), the one occurs in the group just discussed, A.D. 256-259, the other on Antioch issues of coins of Claudius and "Cyzicus" issues of Aurelian.

³⁴ M. & S., *R.I.C.*, v. 1, p. 184, nos. 600-602, and undated coins on pp. 186-190, p. 200, nos. 90 and 92.

³⁵ M. & S., *R.I.C.*, v. 1, pp. 184-186, nos. 604, 606-624.

be a new issue, struck in the name of Gallienus by Zenobia, who hoped—though in vain—to receive from him for her son, Vaballathus, the honours of his father. There is no coinage of this mint dated **TR•P•XVI**. When Gallienus refused to meet her wishes and sent troops against her, Zenobia suspended issue in his name at Antioch. If we try further to group these coins, we shall assign to the earlier issues the dated coins with **TR•P•XII**, **TR•P•XIII**, and other coins of Gallienus of the mint without mint-mark: the issue may extend into A.D. 266. Then follows the great A.D. 266-267 issue, **TR•P•XV**, **COS•VII**, **TR•P•XV** **COS•VII**. We are left still with a group of coins, with **SPQR** in exergue, including dates **TR•P•XVI** (never **TR•P•XV**) and, very rarely, **TR•P•XVII**.³⁶ The meaning of this series, which has long been recognized as that of a new mint, now becomes clear. The concordat between Rome and Palmyra was fatally disturbed by the death of Odenathus. Zenobia, controlling Antioch, tried to continue the old policy, but failed in her diplomatic efforts and had to resort to force. Meanwhile, loyal Romans in the East could no longer look to Palmyra as their leader. A new mint for Gallienus was sought and found—probably in Cyzicus on the Propontis—and, to show that this was a true Roman mint and not a mere tool of Palmyra, the signature of the Roman state, “*Senatus Populusque Romanus*” was added in the exergue [**Pl. X. 12**]. The imperial portrait, which was being used for their own purposes by the Palmyrenes, was not enough.

³⁶ M. & S., *R.I.C.*, v. 1, pp. 184-190, nos. 604, 605, 625, &c. Markl is inclined to make Serdica the mint (*N.Z.*, 1889, pp. 393 ff.).

A full study of the types of these issues promises interesting results, but lies beyond the scope of this paper. The type of **AETERNITAS AVG.**, Saturn, looks back to the earlier issues of Antioch, A.D. 253-254. The remarkable type of **DONA AVG.**, Mercury, is naturally referred to gifts sent by Gallienus to Odenathus in connexion with his investiture as vicegerent in the East. Secular games, not known on the Roman coinage, are commemorated by the type of **SAECLVARES AVG.**, stag right [Pl. X. 11]. A unique coin in the British Museum shows Victory winged, but armed as an Amazon with double axe and round shield ("pelta") [Pl. X. 12]. The worship of the gods—Jupiter, Mars, Diana, Minerva, Neptune, Venus—is very prominent.

The death of Gallienus and the accession of Claudius II brought a certain relief of tension. Under one formula or another, Zenobia was allowed to maintain her position in the East, while Claudius devoted himself to his main task of defeating the Goths. Alexandria, we have seen, issued coins for Claudius and Quintillus after him, even when the Palmyrenes had asserted their military control of Egypt. In Antioch, too, coinage was revived after an interval of about a year, and continued vigorously down to the death of Claudius.³⁷ The type of **CONSECR.AVG.**, standing figures of Jupiter and Juno [Pl. X. 14], clearly relates to the "Consecratio", even though the Emperor does not bear the title of "Divus". The theory that the coinage of Claudius ceased when the Palmyrenes invaded Egypt falls to the ground. There is, however, no coinage of

³⁷ Cp. M. & S., *R.I.C.*, v. 1 (Webb), pp. 228-230, nos. 197-226; p. 233, no. 258.

Quintillus, and the difference here between Antioch and Alexandria suggests that the latter mint was not so absolutely under Palmyrene control as the former. The Antioch coinage of Claudius is remarkable in many ways. A new set of mint signatures, of "officinae" A-H (1-8, with • for 9—?), appears in the exergues of many coins. Two-figure types are developed to an extent almost unparalleled in the Roman coinage. The allusive reverse legend, not directly describing but marking the general significance of the reverse type, becomes almost a mannerism of the mint; thus beside the more or less stereotyped Eastern type of AETERNITAS AVG•, Saturn, we have AETER• AVG•, expressed by Diana and Apollo-Sol [Pl. X. 13], CONSER(VATORES AVG•) expressed by Serapis, Serapis and Isis [Pl. XI. 1], or Minerva and Hercules, FIDES AVG• by Mercury, IVVENTVS AVG• by Hercules [Pl. XI. 2], SALVS AVG• by Apollo, Isis [Pl. XI. 4], or Diana and Apollo, SPES PVBLIC• by Salus and Aesculapius, VIRT(VS) AVG• by Minerva or Vulcan and Minerva. Remarkable too is the prominence of Egyptian types: it finds its natural explanation in the devotion of Zenobia to Egyptian studies. A type, quite new to Roman coins—the Cabirus, with attributes like Vulcan—is described as DEO CABIRO, or, more remarkably still, as REGI ARTIS, "king of the craft", no doubt, the moneyer's [Pl. XI. 3].^{37a} The word "king", so repugnant to Roman ears, had a different sound for the Palmyrenes who served a king themselves. There is, in fact, a highly original flavour in the work of this mint, which is presumably due to

^{37a} The British Museum specimen reads REGI ARTIG (sic) on rev.

the mint-master of the time. It is perhaps not too fanciful to think of that influx to the court of Zenobia of men of ability of which Longinus is the most famous example.

The style of the mint at this time, unlike Antioch before 256 or after 271, the unusual reference to the "Deus Cabirus" who was patron deity of Thessalonica and was said to have defended his city against the Goths, the immense importance of Thessalonica during the great age of the Gothic invasions—all these considerations might tempt us to attribute this issue to that city and to regard it as a special coinage for Claudius's great Gothic campaign. The sequel under Aurelian, however, proves that the mint of these coins was in Palmyrene hands, and any reference to Thessalonica, if such there really be, can only be regarded as in the nature of comment on current affairs. The issues of Cyzicus³⁸ [Pl. XI. 5, 6] are still distinguished in many cases by the *SPQR* in exergue; a city mint-mark *MC*, appears—probably later in the reign. Both in style and choice of legends the mint falls more clearly apart from Antioch than under Gallienus. This fact well suits the interpretation that we have suggested. Cyzicus begins near the end of the reign of Gallienus as an offshoot of Antioch; as the true Roman mint of the East, opposed to the Palmyrene mint of Antioch, it tends to draw more and more away from its parent. By the end of the reign of Claudius, Zenobia was stretching out her hand to take Bithynia, and a direct breach of relations between Rome and Palmyra was threatened. The mint actually struck a

³⁸ M. & S., *R.I.C.*, v. 1 (Webb), pp. 230-233, nos. 227-255.

small issue for Quintillus before he succumbed to Aurelian.³⁹

At Antioch there is no coinage of Aurelian alone in direct continuation of Claudius. In its place we find a considerable issue, with the normal radiate bust of Aurelian on one side and, on the other side, the laureate bust of Vaballathus, with the strange device of VCRIMDR that veils his full titles V(ir) C(larissimus) R(ex) IM(perator) D(ux) R(omanorum) [Pl. XI. 7].⁴⁰ Homo⁴¹ has interpreted these coins, with the similar issues of Alexandria, as evidence of a definite recognition of Vaballathus by Aurelian. It is, indeed, conceivable that Aurelian, under the stress of his initial difficulties, made some concession of this kind; if so, it is certain that it was like the concession made by Diocletian and Maximian to Carausius—celebrated only in the usurper's territory and recalled at the first possible moment. Not only are there no coins of Vaballathus at any of the mints under imperial control, but it is a serious question if there is any reference to him whatever on the imperial coinage. Homo has tried to trace some such references, but in no case does the application of the type to Vaballathus seem in any degree certain. The same conclusion is reached if we scrutinize the coinage of Antioch itself. The modesty of the laureate head of the Palmyrene prince, with his title of the second rank, beside the radiate

³⁹ M. & S., *R.I.C.*, v. 1 (Webb), p. 247, nos. 82-87.

⁴⁰ M. & S., *R.I.C.*, v. 1 (Webb), p. 308, no. 381.

⁴¹ *Essai sur le règne de l'Empereur Aurélien*, pp. 66 ff. and notes. A. von Sallet, *Zf.N.*, 1875, pp. 252-257. The coin of Cyzicus with rev. PRICIPI (sic) IVVENTVTIS, two figures, between standards (Egypt Find, *R. It.*, 1888, pp. 152, 153) is perhaps an exception.

head of the "Augustus", is nominal only. The mint-marks are placed below the head of Aurelian, which is thus definitely shown to be on the reverse of the coin. The appearance of issues of Prince and Emperor together between issues of Emperor alone and of Prince alone shows that the intermediate stage was actually no real concordat but a first step towards rebellion. The new issue presumably lasted from spring A.D. 270 to early 271, when Aurelian, having surmounted his troubles in Pannonia and North Italy, was ready to take the field against Palmyra.

The coins of Vaballathus, alone, as "Imperator" and "Augustus", are excessively rare to-day⁴² [Pl. XI. 8]. But they may have been struck for some months in 271, before Aurelian defeated Zabdas and recovered Antioch, and their present rarity may be due more to later withdrawal than to actual scantiness of issues. Coins of Zenobia of this mint, with title "Augusta", should, on the analogy of Alexandria, exist, but no certainly authentic specimen can be quoted to-day.⁴³ The reverse types of Vaballathus preserve something of the spirit of the mint of Claudius, but without its remarkable predilection for two figures. "Iuventus Aug.", Hercules, is probably meant to be personal for Vaballathus as "Venus Aug." for Zenobia. After the speedy defeat of the Palmyrenes, the mint began to strike in the name of Aurelian alone, at first with the mint-marks A to H, later with the XXI in exergue that characterizes the reform [Pl. XI. 9, 10]. A type like RESTITVT•ORBIS, the world presenting a wreath to

⁴² M. & S., *R.I.C.*, v. 2 (Webb), p. 585, nos. 1-8.

⁴³ M. & S., *R.I.C.*, v. 2 (Webb), p. 584, nos. 1, 2.

the Emperor, is obviously subsequent to Aurelian's victory and cannot be placed in a short first period before the joint coinage of Vaballathus or Aurelian. There is certainty here, then, that the monetary reform of Aurelian was later than the recovery of Antioch, early A.D. 272. Cyzicus continues to pursue a course independent of Antioch and has a pre-reform coinage of exceptional size and variety: on Cyzicus will have fallen the main burden of coinage for the Eastern war before the recovery of Antioch.⁴⁴

Here we leave the fortunes of the Roman mints of the East. The disruption that had threatened the Empire had been averted. The "Restitutor" theme had triumphed over that of the separate Empires. But the danger had been a very real one. The concessions, made by Gallienus under duress, had almost ended in the complete separation of the Eastern provinces from Rome. The coins in their reticence probably represent not unfairly the official attitude. It suited diplomatists on both sides—Roman and Palmyrene—to pretend that the rule of the Roman Emperor continued unabated. It is possible, however, as we have seen, to get behind the reticence of the coins and recover from them something of the truth, as opposed to the outward show. In so far as we have been successful, we may hope to have contributed something of value to the general history of the great age of Palmyra.

H. MATTINGLY.

⁴⁴ M. & S., *R.I.C.*, v. 1 (Webb), pp. 301-306, nos. 323-370.

VI.

THE BOYTON FIND OF COINS OF EDWARD I AND II.

A HOARD of Edward pennies was found by workmen at Boyton in Wiltshire on July 20, 1935, while digging foundations in the grounds of Boyton Manor. The coins were the subject of a coroner's inquest,¹ at which they were judged to be treasure trove. They were accordingly sent to the British Museum, where they have been classified, and a number have been chosen and purchased for incorporation in the National collection.

The coins were buried in a jug, a description of which, kindly sent me by Mr. G. C. Dunning, will be found at the end of this article. The drawing is also by Mr. Dunning.

Beside the coins actually in the pot, eight others were found scattered a yard or two away. Although in all probability these coins were spilled from the pot at the time of burial, they have been listed separately. Excluding these few stray pieces, the hoard numbers 4,147 coins. 3,868 are English pennies, all, but for one Long Cross penny, of Edward I or II, 68 are Edward pennies of the irregular mint of Berwick, 94 are Scottish pennies of Alexander III and John Balliol, 53 are Irish pennies of Edward I, 58 are Continental Sterlings, and 6 are forgeries. The earliest

¹ The inquest is fully reported in the *Bath and Wilts Chronicle and Herald*, August 16, 1935, reprinted in Spink's *Numismatic Circular*, 1935, pp. 352-354 and p. 386.

coin is the single Long Cross penny, and the latest coins are of the last type attributed to Edward II.

The Edward pennies display an almost complete series of the known types from 1279 to 1320. The hoard contains no coins with the Lombardic *R*, known to be the first issue of Edward III. The coins have been classified according to the system of Earle and Shirley Fox, published by them in the *B.N.J.* between 1910 and 1914, and summarized in the *N.C.*, 1917, pp. 279 ff. This classification has been universally accepted, and rightly; but it has been felt that the minuteness of the classification differed in the different sections of the work, and that, whereas in some parts classes which merged into one another have been differentiated, in others there was room for further subdivision. In consequence, in this report, certain distinctions noted by the Foxes have been neglected, and certain other distinctions marked.

It will be assumed that readers of this report are familiar with the numbering of classes as adopted by the Foxes; no attempt will be made to describe them. Classes Ia-d, and class II, are unambiguous, though it has not appeared worth while to catalogue the various combinations of *N* and *X* in class Id. The divisions of class III are, however, not categorical. There are, for instance, varieties in the treatment of the drapery in so simple a class as III b. III c merges into III e, III f into III g, and again into IV a. The exact apportionment into classes is therefore ultimately a matter of eye and taste. The next few classes are unexceptionable. No distinction has been observed between VII a and VII b, nor in general between VII a and VIII b. Again, it is impossible to draw an absolute

distinction between VIII b and IX a, though this has been attempted here. The distinction between IX a and IX b has been observed, and the presence or absence of the star on the breast has been noted throughout class IX. In class IX a few coins of all the more important mints are found with a double-barred N and sometimes a double-barred T on the reverse. The style of these coins is in every way rough, but it is clear from the irons used that they are not forgeries and that they belong to class IX b. They were presumably all made by one inexperienced engraver.

Class X is by far the commonest in the hoard. In the text of the original articles of the Foxes no subdivisions for this class are suggested. Subdivisions a-f are suggested in the summary later published. In this report only the different spellings of the name Edward have been recorded. Since almost all the numerous "mules" between classes IX and X read on the obverse EDWTRDRT or EDWTRRT, it is certain that these two readings are earlier in date than the shorter readings which occur in the same class. This is supported by the evidence of the Durham and Newcastle mints and by the forms of the letters employed. There is a further class, not recorded by the Foxes, but often mentioned in reports of hoards, reading EDW'R'RT; these coins occur both at London and at Canterbury. There are also a few coins which combine the trifoliate crown of the earlier coins with the lettering and readings of class X. In this class appear, too, for the first time colon stops or abbreviations after the word hYB.

In the reign of Edward II no distinction has been observed between classes XI a and b, since, though

extreme cases are clear, there appeared to be no dividing line. There are even coins transitional between XI b and c, which show a form of \mathfrak{T} in which the right-hand limb is narrower and nearer the perpendicular than the left. Although class XII is unmistakable, there are in fact two forms of crown used, one in which the petals of the central *lys* have indented edges, the other, in which they are of simple diamond shape. Most coins of class XIII are quite distinct, but there exists a large class of coins on which characteristics of class XIII are to be found combined with those of class XIV. The portrait, the initial cross, or the crown of the one occur together with the remaining features of the other. Further, within class XIV itself there are varieties of crown, some coins having the central *lys* much taller than others. In this report, therefore, a distinction has been drawn between the true coins of class XIV and transitional coins showing only some of the true characteristics. This overlap between classes XIII and XIV may serve to explain the Plain Cross coin of Durham in class XIV, which is discussed below.

The London mint provides the completest series. There is one Long Cross penny, made by Nicole at London; curiously it is not of the latest type but belongs to group III, in which the king holds no sceptre (1248-1250). Of the Edward pennies, there is one example of class I a, muled with a reverse of class I c, but the rare class I b is absent. From class I c onwards all classes are represented down to XV c except for class V a. One coin of class III f has a closed \mathfrak{G} in Edward. Class XI c is present, a variety which the Foxes had not seen, and also certain coins of XI b with the late

transitional form of K. Of XV c there are three examples. There are two specimens of class I d with the annulet on the breast, which, though bearing the legend CIVITIS LONDON, is thought to have been struck for the Bishop of Reading. There are five forgeries of London coins. Three of these read EDWRETNGL, &c.; this is a well-known type, recorded for instance by Sir George Macdonald in his report of the Blackhills find (*N.C.*, 1913, p. 65). It is modelled on class I e. The other two forgeries are based on coins of Edward II.

The Canterbury mint is, after London, the most numerous. The earliest Canterbury coins are of class II. Class III a is missing, but all regular coins from then on to XV b are present except from classes V b to VIII. During this period, however, the Canterbury mint was scarcely working. The Canterbury coins have an unusual number of blundered reverses. This mint is also remarkable for the absence of mules between classes IX and X, elsewhere extremely common.

Durham provides no new varieties but some examples of rare types, in particular of IV c and of V b. In class X the form of the letter M can be used as an indication of date. The earlier coins with the Plain Cross initial mark have an M in the form of an H, while in the later coins with the Plain Cross, as in the coins with the Cross Moline, the M is composed of the usual four strokes. A slip in Brooke's *English Coins* should perhaps be noted. It is untrue to say, as he does on p. 123, that only a few late coins of class X have the Cross Moline initial mark. This type is in fact the commonest of the whole Durham series. The Durham coins of Edward II are very badly struck,

and it is not always possible to determine the mint-mark. All the known classes are present including class XII, not known to the Foxes at the time of writing, though found by them since. There is one example of the Plain Cross "sede vacante" coin of class XIV. Unfortunately it brings no nearer to settlement the dispute as to how the "sede vacante" coin can be of class XIV, when the change of Bishops took place in class XIII. If there were coins of Kellawe with the Crozier on the reverse in class XIV, then this coin could be explained on the theory of an overlap; but there are not. Since all known "sede vacante" coins of class XIV come from the same pair of dies, it perhaps increases the likelihood that the coin is an oversight. The existence of a mule (not in this hoard), with the Cross Moline of Bek on the obverse and the Crozier of Kellawe on the reverse, proves that such oversights were possible. This, however, leaves no coin for the King's receiver, Robert de Sapy, but, though we know that the temporalities of the see were in his hands (*B.N.J.*, 1912, p. 190 f., p. 203; in reprint, p. 10 f., p. 23), we do not know that new dies were delivered to him. He may have continued to use Kellawe's dies, as apparently Kellawe had used Bek's. In this case the probability that this single "sede vacante" die is an oversight, is further increased. The reverse of one coin of class XV shows the lettering of XV c.

Bury St. Edmunds provides an example of class III b, hitherto unrecorded for this mint. Otherwise its coins are regular; there is an example of the rare class VIII from the same dies as that illustrated by the Foxes Plate XIII, 4. The smaller mints call for no comment.

The Berwick coins are arranged according to the

classification of C. E. Blunt in *N.C.*, 1931, p. 28 ff. Though they provide a number of mules not there recorded, they otherwise conform strictly to his system. In the irregular late classes VI and VII there are some varieties. One coin with the obverse of class VI reads EDWTRRT for EDWTRRT , and the coin which appears to belong to class VII has one reversed N on the obverse and reads hGB for hB . It may be a forgery.

The Scottish pennies are arranged according to Burns's *Coinage of Scotland*, p. 163 ff. There are a few minor varieties in the spelling or the stopping not there recorded. In particular in group II, class III of Alexander III on some of the coins with the third head there occurs an attenuated form of sceptre, which he does not mention. There were four such coins in this hoard.

Since no analogous classification exists for the Irish pennies, a special classification has been devised for this report.

1. DUBLIN PENNIES.

(A) The letters are straight-sided. The D of DNS is to the left of the bust. There are no stops in the legend and no mark of contraction over DNS . There is a large pellet below the bust.

(B) Similar, but with three small pellets below the bust, and the D of DNS is to the right of the bust. N takes the form of H .

(C) Similar, but with pellet stops between the words of the legend and usually with a mark of contraction over the S .

(D) The letters have curved sides, but the type is

otherwise similar to C. All coins have the mark of contraction over the S.

(E) The letters have curved sides as in D, but the R has a scroll-like tail, and on some the S of the obverse has an egg-shaped swelling in the centre. The pellets between $\overline{\text{TNGL}}$, DNS, and hVB are omitted.

(F) This class is distinguished by the use of the Lombardic R on the reverse. In all cases the S of Civitas has an egg-shaped centre. The obverses generally have a square E in Edward, though some have the normal round open E. The ornamental R does not reappear, but on the obverse of one coin the S has an egg-shaped centre.

(G) This class corresponds to the London coins of class VII; the crown is made with the same wide-spread punch, and there is a Rose on the breast.

(H) This class is of a different fabric, with small untidy letters, and a single pellet below the bust. There are no pellets in the legend. This class can be subdivided into (i) coins with tall bold letters on the reverse, entirely unlike the obverse letters, and (ii) coins with smaller letters on the reverse. The N of this class is Roman.

Cork Mint.

All coins of Cork mint correspond in general style to class H at Dublin, though the N is always reversed and one of the C's on the reverse is open. There is one pellet in each angle of the triangle.

Waterford Mint.

All coins of Waterford mint have three pellets below the bust. Some coins read $\overline{\text{WATERFOR}}$, others

VTTERFOR', for the name of the mint. On both types the reverse has sometimes straight-sided and sometimes curved-sided letters. On the majority of the coins reading WTTT. the letters are curved-sided. On the majority of the coins reading VTTT. the letters are straight-sided.

All these types except class G occur in this hoard. A specimen of class G occurred in the Newminster find of 1926 (*N.C.*, 1927, p. 279).

Documents relating to the Irish coinage are to be found in Simon's *Essay*, pp. 14 and 15, and are reproduced by Ruding. From these it is clear (i) that the Dublin mint was opened after Dec. 1279, because the Irish mints were regulated according to the terms of the agreement with Turnemire; (ii) that Dublin took part in the great recoinage of 1300, and was still re-coining in 1304. The coins themselves confirm and supplement this information. The earliest Dublin coins in the hoard bear a close stylistic resemblance to class III g of the London coins, and were presumably struck in 1281 (classes A, B, and C). The later coins (classes D, E, and F) have an identical portrait, but there appears to be no precise counterpart at London for the various differences which they exhibit. They were presumably struck while class IV was being struck in England, between c. 1282 and 1285. Class G, with the rose on the breast, can be dated precisely to 1297 from the London coins. Class H, though it does not agree in the lettering with the London coins, must represent the recoinage of 1300 in Ireland.

There are three mules, not in this hoard, which also help to date the Irish coins. The first combines an ordinary London obverse of class III c or e with a

reverse of Dublin. It is possible that this coin is a forgery, since a number of undoubted forgeries showing this combination exist. The second combines an Irish obverse of class C with a Canterbury reverse of class III c. Both dies are slightly peculiar. On the obverse there is only one pellet instead of three below the bust. On the reverse the N in CANTOR is unbarred. It seems, however, to be a genuine coin. Both these mules connect the earlier Irish coinage with English coins of 1281. The third mule combines an obverse of class X of London, reading EDW R ANGL DNS HYB and having the crown bifoliate, with a Waterford reverse on which the I has straight sides. This mule is confusing, for the analogies of the Waterford coins are with the earlier Dublin coins, and the mule seems to connect it with the recoinage of 1300. Probably coins were being struck at Waterford from old dies up till shortly before the recoinage, although the earliest dies were made at the same time as the Dublin coins. The coins of Cork conform to the Dublin coins of class H and belong to 1300.

There are 58 Continental sterlings. Most are of common types, met with in all the hoards of Edward pennies. They are classified according to Chautard's *Imitations des monnaies au type Esterlin*. Since the illustrations in Chautard are not to be trusted in detail as to the forms of the letters or the stops, in most cases the legends have been recorded. One coin of Serain provides an unpublished reading for the title of Valeran II, WTLER' DNS DE LINII. No coins are late enough to assist materially in dating the hoard. There are coins of Duke Ferry IV of Lorraine who acceded in 1312, but the hoard is in any case later than

this. On the reverse of the coins of Gui de Collemède at Cambrai a "slip" is introduced among the pellets in one quarter. The quarters in which it is found have been here recorded.

Although the hoard contains no English coins with the round Ω which first appeared in 1329, it does contain four examples of the immediately preceding class XVc. Since only negligible quantities of coins were struck at London between 1324 and 1329, it is improbable that class XVc is later than 1324, and the hoard may well have been buried in that year. It is known that the important family of the Giffords who lived at Boyton, lost their property about 1322, after the battle of Boroughbridge. It is, therefore, possible that the hoard is to be connected with the final departure of the family from the neighbourhood.

The hoard belongs to a regular group, examples of which have occurred at Blackhills, in 1911 (*N.C.*, 1913, p. 57); Carsphairn, in 1914 (*N.C.*, 1914, p. 382); Tutbury, in 1831 (*Archaeologia*, xxiv, p. 148); Wyke, in 1836 (*Archaeologia*, xxviii, p. 47). All these hoards were buried a few years before the abdication of Edward II. The composition of the hoard is regular. Only one Long Cross coin had survived the recoinage of 1279. The Scottish, Irish, and Continental coins made up only 6.5 per cent. of the whole, and, as usual, there were no Anglo-Gallic coins. Forgeries were not common, not enough to justify the frequent complaints against them. Few of the coins were either worn or clipped. The fine condition of some of the earliest coins suggested that the hoard had been saved over a considerable period. Coins of this period are now so familiar that a hoard such as this adds little to our

knowledge of them. It is to be regretted that the hoard was not buried a few years later, already in a period where our knowledge is by no means so precise.

I have to thank Messrs. J. Shirley-Fox, L. A. Lawrence, and C. E. Blunt for their help in preparing this report.

The following are the totals:—

English Pennies.

Bristol	86
Bury St. Edmunds	188
Canterbury	1,143
Chester	8
Durham	329
Exeter	5
Kingston-on-Hull	6
Lincoln	14
London	1,974
Newcastle	46
York, Royal	62
York, Episcopal	10
Uncertain	2
Total	<hr/> 3,873

Berwick Pennies	68
Scottish Pennies	94
Irish Pennies	54
Continental Sterlings	58
Total	<hr/> 274

Combined totals 4,147

LIST OF THE FIND.

No.	Obverse.	Reverse.
ENGLISH PENNIES.¹		
<i>Bristol Mint.</i>		
Edward I.		
6	Fox, Class II.	Pellets on rev. united.
6	II.	Pellets on rev. separate.
4	III b.	
11	III c.	
6	III e.	
2	III f. Early S.	
1	III f. S with swollen centre.	
9	III f-g. S without swollen centre, but face of III g.	
14	III g. S with swollen centre.	
20	IX b. With star.	
7	IX b. Without star.	
86		

¹ Only reverses which are in some way exceptional are described; mules are marked with an M.

Bury St. Edmunds Mint.

Edward I.

1	Fox, Class III b.	ROBE/RTDE/hTDE/LEIE
1	III f.	
5	III g.	
1	IV a. Abbreviations.	ROBE/RTVS/DEh/TDL*
1	IV b. Abbreviations.	
1	VIII. (Same die as Pl. VIII. 4.)	VILT/SCIh/DIV/IDI
1	IX a.	VILT/SCIh/DHV/HDI
4	IX b. With star.	VILL/SCIh/DIV/IDI
2	X. GDW/TRDRt	
7	X. GDW/TRRRt	
51	X. GDW/TRRT	

Edward II.

M Class XI.

1	Fox, Class X. GDW/TRRT	
29	XI a-b. GDW/TRRT	
3	XI a-b. GDW/TRRRt	
1	XII. Diamond-shaped Lys.	
1	XII. Ornaented Lys.	
12	XIII.	
2	XIII. With pellet stops.	
1	XIII. With large face of XIV.	

No.	Obverse.	Reverse.
<i>Bury St. Edmunds Mint (cont.).</i>		
Fox, Class XIV.	Transitional.	
26 XIV.		
13 XV a.		
4 XV b.		
15 XV b.		
1 Unusual portrait.		
4 Uncertain of Edward II.		
188		
<i>Canterbury Mint.</i>		
Edward I.		
<i>Canterbury Mint.</i>		
Fox, Class II.		
4 III b.		
1 III c.		
3 III e.		
21 III f.		
6 III g.		
13 IV a-c.		
81 IV d.		
20 IV e.		
10 V a.		
2 IX a.	With star.	
7 IX b.	Without star.	
26		

18	IX b. With star.	IX b. But π and N.
2	IX b. ? Without star; rough style.	QIVI/TTS/QTS/TOR (different dies).
2	IX b. Without star.	
24	X. GDWTRDR π	
62	X. GDWTRRT π	
3	X. GDWTRRT π	
381	X. GDWTRRT π	
3	X. GDWTRRT h π B.	
2	X. GDWTRRT π	QIVI/TTS/QTN/TOR
2	X. GDWTRRT π	QIVI/TTS/QTN/TTS (different dies).
1	X. GDWTRRT π	QIVI/TTS/QTN/QTN

Edward II.

4	Fox, Class X. GDWTRRT	M	XI a-b.
1	XI. Faulty Jewel, but reads GDWTRDRGL &c.		
1	XI a-b. GDWTRRT	M	X.
124	XI a-b. GDWTRRT		
1	XI a-b. GDWTRRT h π B:		
27	XI a-b. GDWTRRT π		
1	XI a-b. GDWTRRT		QIVI/TTS/QTS/TOR
1	XI a-b. GDWTRRT π	M	XI c.
1	XI c.	M	XI a-b.
8	XII. Ornamented Lys.		

No.	Obverse.	Canterbury Mint (cont.).	Reverse.
42	Fox, Class XIII. XIV. Transitional. XIV. XV a. XV b.	<i>Chester Mint.</i> Edward I.	CIVI/TAS/CES/TRIG CIVI/TTS/QES/TRIG ditto. CIVI/TTS/SAS/TRIG
38			
79			
15			
107			
1143			
5	Fox, Class III g. IX b. IX b. IX b.	With star. Without star. With star.	
1			
1			
1			
8			
11	Fox, Class II. M.m. Plain Cross. III d. III g. IV a. IV b.	<i>Durham Mint.</i> Edward I.	
5			
3			
1			
3			

1	IV c.	M.m. Cross Moline composed of Plain Cross and annulets.	
2	IV d-e.	M.m. Cross Moline; T; no pellet before legend.	
1	V b.	M.m. H	M.m. normal Cross Moline.
1	IX a.	With star; Cross Moline.	
1	IX a.	Without star; Cross Moline.	
2	IX a.	With star; Cross Moline. M	IX b.
1	IX a.	Without star; Cross Moline. M	IX b.
5	IX b.	Without star; Cross Moline.	
14	IX b.	Without star; Plain Cross.	
8	IX b.	With star; Plain Cross.	
1	IX b.	Without star; Plain Cross (rough style).	IX b. But A and H.
2	IX b.	Without star; Plain Cross. M	X.
1	X.	M.m. Plain Cross. GDVTRDRT	II for M.
3	X.	M.m. Plain Cross. GDVTRDRT	Normal M.
6	X.	M.m. Plain Cross. GDVTRDRT	H for M.

No.	Obverse.		Reverse.
		<i>Durham Mint (cont.).</i>	
1	Fox, Class X. M.m. Plain Cross. GDW/TRRT		H for M.
25	X. M.m. Plain Cross. GDW/TRRT		Normal M.
1	X. M.m. Plain Cross. GDW/TRRT hYB:		Normal M.
1	X. M.m. Cross Moline struck over Plain Cross. GDW/TRRT		
91	X. M.m. Cross Moline. GDW/TRRT		
1	X. M.m. Cross Moline. GDW/TRRT . . . hYB.		
1	X. M.m. Cross Moline. GDW/TRRT . . . hYB'		
9	X. Uncertain m.m.		
		Edward II.	
15	Fox, Class X. M.m. Cross Moline. GDW/TRRT	M XI.	
1	X. M.m. Plain Cross. GDW/TRRT	M XI.	
1	XI a-b. M.m. Plain Cross. GDW/TRRT	M X.	

6	XI a-b.	M.m. Cross Moline. GDWTRRT	
5	XI a-b.	M.m. Cross Moline. GDWTRRT	
36	XI a-b.	M.m. Crozier. GDWTRRT	
6	XI a-b.	M.m. Crozier. GDWTRRT	
1	XI a-b.	M.m. Crozier. GDWTRRT	
2	XI a-b.	M.m. Crozier. GDWTRRT	QIVI/TTS:/DVN/ELM
1	XI c.	M.m. Crozier. GDWTRRT	QIVI/TTS/DVN/ELM
6	XI.	Uncertain m.m. GDWTRRT	QIVI/TTS/DVN/ELM
7	XII.	M.m. Crozier; Ornamented Lys.	[QIVI/TTS/DVR/ENB/]
7	XIII.	M.m. Crozier.	
1	XIV.	M.m. Plain Cross. Same dies as Pl. XII. 11.	
4	XIII.	M.m. Lion.	
6	XIV.	Transitional. M.m. Lion.	

No.	Obverse.		Reverse.
<i>Durham Mint (cont.).</i>			
	Fox, Class XIV.	M.m. Lion.	
7	XV a.	M.m. Lion.	
4	XV b.	M.m. Lion.	
7	XV b.	M.m. Lion.	M
1			XV c.
3		Uncertain classes of Edward II.	
<hr/>			
329			
<i>Exeter Mint.</i>			
			Edward I.
5	Fox, Class IX b.	With star.	
<i>Kingston-on-Hull Mint.</i>			
			Edward I.
			M
2	Fox, Class IX a.	With star.	IX b.
4	IX b.	With star.	
<hr/>			
6			
<i>Lincoln Mint.</i>			
			Edward I.
6	Fox, Class III c.		
4	III e.		
1	III f.		
3	III g.		
<hr/>			
14			

London Mint.
Long Cross Penny of Henry III.
Head without sceptre—*REX III'* (Group III). | *NIQ/OLGI/OLI/VNO*




	Fox, Class Ia.	R for N	Edward I.	
			M	I c. Roman N.
1	I c.			
28	I d.	H for N		
18	I d.	N normal.		
7	I d.	Annulet on breast.		
2	Forgeries of I d: <i>EDWRETNGI &c.</i>			
3	Class II.			
44	III a.			
4	III a.	Pellets inside drapery.		
1	III b.			
2	III c.			
70	III e.			
40	III f.	S with swollen centre.		
6	III f.	Normal S		Normal S.
4	III f.	S with swollen centre.		S with swollen centre.
1		<i>GDWRT</i>		S with swollen centre.
19	III g.			
144	IV a-c.			

No.	Obverse.	Reverse.
<i>London Mint (cont.).</i>		
36	Fox, Class IV d.	
15	IV e.	
5	V b.	
1	VI.	
6	VII.	
8	VIII a.	
10	VIII b.	
5	IX a. With wide fleurs.	
22	IX a. Without star.	
15	IX a. With star.	M
4	IX b. Without star.	IX a.
4	IX b. With star.	M
38	IX b. Without star.	IX a.
146	IX b. With star.	
1	IX b. With star.	
2	IX-X. Trifoliate crown. GDW/TRRT	GI VI/LON/DON/TTS
1	IX-X. Trifoliate crown. GDW/TRT	IX b.
42	X. GDW/TRDRT	IX b.
15	X. GDW/TRRT	IX b.
28	X. GDW/TRDRT	
64	X. GDW/TRRT	

		CIVI/TMS/ION/DON
9	X. GDW/R-RT	
696	X. GDW/TRRT	
23	X. GDW/TRRT h/B:	
11	X. GDW/TRRT h/B'	
5	X. GDW/TRRT	
10	X. GDW/RT	
Edward II.		
1	Fox, Class X. GDW/TRRT	M XI.
150	XI. GDW/TRRT	
21	XI. GDW/TRRT	
1	XI. GDW/TRRT, but II for N	
9	XI. GDW/TRRT h/B:	
2	? XI c. GDW/TRRT; T' for T	
1	XI b. GDW/TRRT h/B:	XI c.
3	XII. Ornamented Lys.	M
1	XII. Diamond-shaped Lys.	
25	XIII.	
28	XIV. Transitional.	
26	XIV.	
14	XV a.	
60	XV b.	
3	XV c.	
2	Forgeries of Edward II.	
1974		

No.	Obverse.	Reverse.
<i>Newcastle Mint.</i>		
Edward I.		
6	Fox, Class III d. Plain N	
1	III d. N on obv.	
1	IX a.	
4	IX b. Without star.	
1	IX b. Rough style.	
10	IX b. With star.	
8	IX b. Without star.	
1	IX b. Without star.	
4	IX b. With star.	
2	IX-X. Trifoliate crown. GDW/TRRT	
8	X. GDW/TRDR	
46		
<i>York, Royal Mint.</i>		
Edward I.		
5	Fox, Class II.	
12	III b.	
1	III c.	

IX b. But N for N.
 X. VILL/ etc. T
 X. VIL'/NOV/OAS/TRI
 X. VILL/ etc. T

17	III d.		
8	IX b. Without star.		
19	IX b. With star.		
62			
<hr/>			
7	Fox, Class III d. (3 have + on breast.)		<i>York, Episcopal Mint.</i>
2	IX b. Without star.		Edward I.
1	IX b. With star.		
10			
<hr/>			
2	Fox, Class X.		<i>Uncertain Mint.</i>
			Edward I.
<hr/>			
			BERWICK MINT
			Edward I.
5	Blunt, Class I a. Long face.		
3	I a. Wide face.	hYB'	
1	I b. hYD Large letters.		
1	I b. hYD Small letters.		
1	I a. Wide face.		
		M	II a. VILL/TBΘ/RE   

No.	Obverse.	Reverse.
<i>Berwick Mint (cont.).</i>		
	Blunt, Class I b. Wide face.	M
1	II a. Trifoliate crown.	hYB
1	II c. Bifoliate crown.	hY
1	II b. Bifoliate crown.	hYB:
2	III a. Trifoliate crown.	DNS
2	III b.	DNS
3	III a.	DNS M
2	IV a. Trifoliate crown.	DNS
7	IV b. Bifoliate crown.	DNS
22	IV c. Bifoliate crown.	DNS
12		IV. V ⁻ for V.
Edward II.		
	Blunt, Class V.	
2	VI. EDW/TRRT	M
1	? VII. EDW/TRRTNGLDNShB	V. :VILLT
1	(Possibly a forgery)	? VII. V□L/□BI/R□/□OI
68		

SCOTTISH PENNIES.

Alexander III.

*Pennies of Sterling issue : after 1280.**Group I : all reverses have 4 mullets of 6 points.*

1	Burns, Group I, Class I, no. 1	ÆS/COS/SIE:/REX	
1	I (p. 146, not numbered)		
1	I III, no. 9 (but without pellets on crown).		
1	I III, cf. no. 10.		
1	TXLXTNDEIGRT: (no pellets on crown).		
13	I III, no. 13.	REG/SCO/TOR/VII+ Burns, Group I, Class III. I, I. (Mules 17-20.) I. (Mule no. 23.)	
3	I III, no. 15.		
1	I III, no. 15.		
3	I I		M
2	I III		M

Group II : all reverses read REX/SCO/TOR/VII+.

1	Burns Group II, Class I, no. 27 a (but with pellets above crown).	4 mullets of 6 points. (C without fish-tail ends).
4	II, nos. 30-31.	2 mullets of 6 points: 2 stars of 7 points.
5	II, no. 32.	4 mullets of 6 points.
4	II, no. 34.	4 mullets of 5 points; 3 pellets.
1	II, no. 36	3 mullets of 6 points; 1 mullet of 5 points.

No.	Obverse.	Alexander III (<i>cont.</i>)	Reverse.
1	Burns, Group II, Class II, no. 37.	Alexander III (<i>cont.</i>)	4 mullets of 6 points.
1	II, no. 38.		2 mullets of 6 points; 2 stars of 7 points.
2	II, no. 39.		ditto.
1	II, no. 41.		4 stars of 7 points. REX/SEO/TOR/VII+
6	Group II, Class III: 1st head, no. 44.		4 mullets of 6 points.
1	II, III: 1st head, no. 45.		3 mullets of 6 points; 1 star of 7 points.
2	II, III: 2nd head, no. 46.		4 mullets of 6 points.
4	II, III: 2nd head, no. 48 a.		3 mullets of 6 points; 1 star of 7 points.
5	II, III: 3rd head, no. 50.		4 mullets of 6 points.
3	II, III: 3rd head, no. 51.		3 mullets of 6 points; 1 mullet of 5 points.
2	II, III: 3rd head, no. 53.	M	2 mullets of 6 points; 2 stars of 7 points.
3	II, III: 3rd head. Cf. no. 50, but different sceptre.		4 mullets of 6 points.
1	II, III: 3rd head. ditto.		3 mullets of 6 points; 1 star of 7 points.
1	II		Burns, Group II, Class I. (Mule no. 60.)
2	II		2 mullets of 6 points; 2 stars of 7 points.
2	II		Burns, Group II, Class III. (Mule no. 64.)
2	III: 2nd head.		3 mullets of 6 points; 1 star of 7 points.
2	III: 2nd head.		Burns, Group II, no. 28. (Mule no. 68.)
			3 mullets of 6 points; 1 star of 7 points.

Fabric of John Balliol.

1	Burns, p. 182, no. 79.	4 mullets of 6 points.
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John Balliol.

REX SCOTORVI+ Type.

9	Burns, p. 223, no. 1.	4 mullets of 6 points.
2	no. 2.	ditto.

St. Andrews Mint.

1	Burns, p. 224, no. 10.	CIVI/TTS/STW/DRE 2 mullets of 6 points; 2 mullets of 5 points.
3	p. 226, no. 15.	CIVI/TTS/STW/DRE 2 mullets of 5 points; 2 stars of 7 points.

No.	Obverse.	Reverse.
<p>IRISH PENNIES.</p> <p><i>Dublin Mint.</i></p>		
	<p>(A) <i>Straight-sided letters; large pellet below bust; no pellets in legend.</i></p>	
1	·EDWR·/TNGLD·/DNShY	| CIVI/TTS/DVBL/INIE
	<p>(B) <i>Straight-sided letters; three pellets below bust; no pellets in legend.</i></p>	
1	·EDWR·/THGLD·/HShYB	| CIVI/TTS/DVBL/INIE
	<p>(C) <i>Straight-sided letters; three pellets below bust; pellets in legend.</i></p>	
1	·EDW·R·/THGLD·/HS·hYB	CIVI/TTS/DVBL/INIE
1	·EDW·R·/THGLD·/HS·hYB	:CIVI/TTS/DVBL/INIE
2	·EDW·R·/THGLD·/HS·hYB	CIVI/TTS/DVBL/INIE
5	·EDW·R·/THGLD·/HS·hYB	ditto.
	<p>(D) <i>Curved-sided letters; three pellets below bust; pellets in legend.</i></p>	
5	·EDW·R·/THGLD·/HS·hYB	| CIVI/TTS/DVBL/INIE

(E) *Similar to D, but with ornamental R and/or S.*

1	•EDW•R' / TUGL'D / $\overline{\text{NShYB}}$ '	CIVI / TTS / DVBL / INIE	
1	•EDW•R' / TUGL'D / $\overline{\text{NShYB}}$ '	CIVI / TTS / DVBL / INIE	(S)
1	•EDW•R' / TUGL'D / $\overline{\text{NShYB}}$ '	CIVI / TTS / DVBL / INIE	(S)

(F) *Similar to D and E, but with Lombardic R on Reverse.*(i) *With round E on Obverse.*

1	•EDW•R' / TUGL'D / $\overline{\text{NShYB}}$	CIVI / TTS / DVBL / INIE	(S)
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(ii) *With square E on Obverse.*

1	+EDW•R' / TUGL'D / $\overline{\text{NShYB}}$ '	ditto.	(S)
1	+EDW•R' / TUGL'D / $\overline{\text{NShYB}}$ '	ditto.	(S)

(G) *Small untidy letters; single pellet below bust; no pellets in legend.*(i) *With large straight-sided letters on Reverse.*

3	EDWR' / TUGL'D / $\overline{\text{NShYB}}$ '	CIVI / TTS / DVBL / INIE	
---	--	--------------------------	--

(ii) *With small straight-sided letters on Reverse.*

8	EDWR' / TUGL'D / $\overline{\text{NShYB}}$	CIVI / TTS / DVBL / INIE	
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No.	Obverse.	Reverse.
	Irish Pennies (cont.). <i>Forgery of Dublin penny.</i>	
1	EDW·R' / AGL·D / NShYB'	CIVI / TTS / DVBL / INIE
	<i>Cork Mint.</i>	
	<i>Corresponding to Class H at Dublin; one pellet in each angle of Triangle.</i>	
2	EDWR' / THGLD / NShYB	| CIVI / TTS / GORD / TCIH
	<i>Waterford Mint.</i>	
	<i>Corresponding to Class C at Dublin; straight-sided letters.</i>	
1	EDW·R' / THGLD / HS hYB'	| CIVI / TTS / VTTE / RFOR'
1	EDW·R' / THGLD / HShYB'	| CIVI / TTS / VTTE / RFOR
1	·EDW·R' / THGLD / HS·hYB'	| CIVI / TTS / VTTE / RFOR'
	<i>Corresponding to Class D at Dublin; curved-sided letters.</i>	
5	·EDW·R' / THGLD / HShYB'	CIVI / TTS / VTTE / RFOR'
1	Ditto with triangle of large beads.	ditto.
5	·EDW·R' / THGLD / HS·hYB'	ditto.
1	EDWR' / THGLD / NShYB'	ditto.
1	·EDW·R' / THGLD / HS·hYB'	CIVI / TTS / VTTE / RFOR'
1	·EDW·R' / THGLD / HShYB'	ditto.

CONTINENTAL STERLINGS.

ARLEUX.

John of Flanders, 1313-1325.

Type of Chautard, Pl. XVIII. 2 (cf. no. 224).

EDHSIOhS:DEFLTD'

As Chautard.

1

BAR.

Count Edward I, 1302-1337.

Type of Chautard, Pl. XVI. 4 (no. 193).

EDWTRRCVGRSDGBTR

MON/ETS/MIC/TBL

1

BRABANT.

Duke John II, 1294-1312. *Mint of Louvain.*

Chautard, Pl. IX. 5 (no. 108).

1

CAMBRAI.

Bishop William of Hainault, 1292-1296.

Chautard, Pl. XVII. 5 (no. 209).

1

No.	Obverse.	Reverse.
	CAMBRAI (cont.).	
	Bishop Guy of Collemède, 1296-1306.	
1	Type of Chautard, Pl. XVII. 8 (no. 217).	CATM/ERTM/CEN/SIS +
1	Ditto.	CATM/ERTM/CEN/SIS +
	<i>Monnaie Capitulaire.</i>	
1	Chautard, Pl. XVII. 10 (no. 219).	
	FLANDERS.	
	Count Guy of Dampiere, 1251-1305. <i>Mint of Namur.</i>	
1	Chautard, Pl. II. 1 (no. 1).	<i>Mint of Alost.</i>
1	Type of Chautard, Pl. II 6 (cf. no. 10). As Chautard.	SCIV/ITM/SALE/OST
1	Chautard, Pl. II. 8 (no. 11).	
	Count Robert of Béthune, 1305-1322.	
1	Type of Chautard, Pl. III. 2 (cf. no. 13). R·COMES·FLANDRIE	MOR/ETT/XLO/TER
3	Type of Chautard, Pl. III. 1 (cf. no. 12). R·COMES·FLANDRIE	MOR/ETT/XLO/TER
1	R·COMES·FLANDRIE	ditto.
2	R·COMES·FLANDRIE	ditto.

GERMAN EMPIRE.

Henry VII of Luxembourg, 1308-1313.

Type of Chautard, Pl. XXII. 1 (cf. no. 311).

HENRICVS DEI GRATIA

As Chautard.

1

HAINAULT.

John II of Avesnes, 1280-1304. *Mint of Valenciennes*

Type of Chautard, Pl. IV. 1 (cf. no. 23).

HENRICVS DEI GRATIA

VITL/ERC/HER/ENS

1

Mint of Mons.

Type of Chautard, Pl. IV. 5 (no. 29).

As Chautard except H for N on obv.

1

Loos.

Count Arnold V, 1280-1328.

Type of Chautard, Pl. XII. 5 (cf. no. 147).

COMES ARNOLDVS

As Chautard.

2

LORRAINE.

Duke Ferry IV, 1312-1328.

Type of Chautard, Pl. XVI. 2 (cf. no. 190).

FERRIVS DEI GRATIA

As Chautard.

2

No.	Obverse.		Reverse.
		LORRAINE (<i>cont.</i>).	
1	Type of Chautard, Pl. XVI. 3 (no. 192). As Chautard.		SIG/NVH/QRV/OIS
		'Enigmatic.'	
2	Type of Chautard, Pl. XVI. 8 (no. 198). As Chautard.		
1	As Chautard.		LON/TOL/ENG/IGN
		LUXEMBOURG.	
		Count John the Blind, 1309-1346.	
1	Type of Chautard, Pl. XV. 10 (cf. no. 187). As Chautard.		
1	IOHTMESDEIGRT		REX/BOE/ETI/OI
		PORCIEN.	
		Count Gaucher of Chatillon, 1303-1329. <i>Mint of Yves.</i>	
8	Type of Chautard, Pl. XIX. 3. Chautard, no. 241.		
2	Chautard, no. 242.		
2	Chautard, no. 243.		
1	Chautard, no. 243.		MON/ETH/OVT/YN

Mint of Neuf-chateau.

Type of Chautard, Pl. XIX. 4 (cf. no. 249).
 GTLOS OOHGS PORCI HON/ETK/NOV/ICK

4

RETHEL.

Count Louis I of Flanders, 1290-1322.

Type of Chautard, Pl. XIX. 1 (no. 238).
 LVDOVICVS COMSIS As Chautard.

1

SANCERRE.

Count Etienne III, 1280-1306.

Type of Chautard, Pl. XIX. 8 (cf. no. 252).
 NOM:IVLVS CESTRI SAC/RVM/CES/TRI

1

SERAIN.

Valeran II of Ligny, 1304-1353.

Type of Chautard, Pl. XVIII. 5-7 (no. 228 ff.).
 G DOMIHVS:DELIH7 MOR/ET/SEK/TYR
 G DOMIHVS:DELIH7 MOR/ET/SEK/TIR
 G DOMIHVS:DELIH7 MOR/ET/SEK/TIR
 G DOHINVS:DELINI HON/ETK/SEK/ENE
 G DOHINVS:DELINI HON/ETK/SEK/ENE



1

1

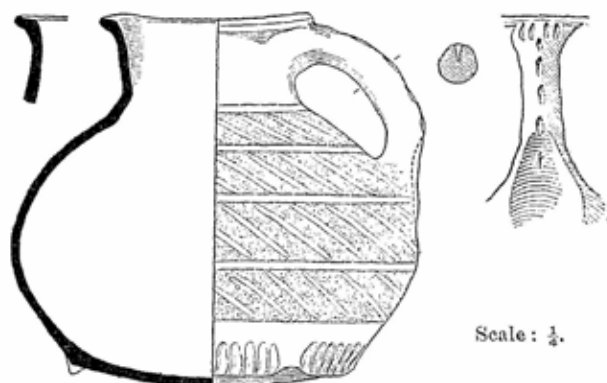
1

1

1

No.	Obverse.	Reverse.
Type of Chantard, Pl. XVIII. 8 (no. 237).		
1	GVTL  DELVSEN B'	HON/ETK/  /ENE
1	GVTLER-DELVSEN B'	MON/ETK/SER/ENE
1	GVTLER DELVSEN B'	ditto
1	WTLER'DNSDELINII	HON/ETK/SER/ENE
COINS FOUND NEAR, BUT NOT INSIDE THE POT. EDWARD PENNIES.		
1	London, Class III g.	Irish: Edward I.
1	X. GDW'TRRRT	
2	XI a.	
1	XV b. h3	
1	Bury St. Edmund. Class X. GDW'TRRRT	| CIVI/TTS/DVBL/INIE. Class C.
1	•EDW•R:/THGL:D/H5•h3B'	
1	Burns, Group II, Class II.	Scottish: Alexander III.
8	| 2 mullets of 6 points; 2 stars of 7 points.	

NOTE ON THE BOYTON MANOR JUG.



THE vessel which contained the coins is a jug, $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, of squat globular form. The ware is fine and sandy, with a light grey core and smooth light red surface. The lip is pinched out for pouring. The sagging base has its edge thumbed down into seven ledges, 2 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, which have shallow flutings above. The back of the handle has a series of very deep cuts made by a blunt-ended tool; the upper end of the handle has a row of five similar marks, and there is a large thumb impression where the handle joins the body of the pot.

The body, from the neck nearly to the base, is covered with a fairly thin and even dark green glaze, and originally was decorated in white slip, now largely decayed. The decoration was in four zones, divided by girth lines, each with a series of oblique lines, all carried out in brush-work.

Evidently the vessel had not been long in use before being hidden in the ground, and it was probably made only a short time before the date of the deposit.

G. C. DUNNING.

MISCELLANEA.

A HOARD OF THEODOSIAN COINS FROM LAXTON, NORTHANTS.

IN January, 1936, during levelling operations on the cricket field at Blackfriars School, Laxton, Stamford, one of the workmen, C. Mason, found, at a depth of 18 inches, a number of small bronze coins, all lying together in the soil under a stone. By the courtesy of the Rev. E. J. Rigby O.P., Bursar, these were forwarded to the British Museum for examination. The coins, 339 in number, have been identified as follows:

Claudius II	1
Claudius II, deified	1
Tetricus I	1
Constantine I, deified	1
Helena	1
Urbs Roma, with Constantinopolis <i>rev.</i>	1
House of Constantine (GLORIA EXERCITVS)	1
Constantius II, Augustus	3
Constans, Augustus	2
Constantius II, or Constans	4
Valentinian I	2
Valentinian I, or Valens	7
Gratian	2
Valentinian II—Arcadius	1
Victor	1
Maximus, or Victor	1
Eugenius	7
Valentinian II	15
Theodosius	25
Arcadius	70
Honorius	50
House of Theodosius	119
Illegible	23
	<hr/> 339 <hr/>

The coins are of the following types: ¹

CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS.	1	M. & S. v. 1, p. 225, no. 171.
CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS, deified.	1	M. & S. v. 1, p. 233, nos. 261 ff.
TETRICUS I.	1	<i>Obv.</i> . . . TETRIC . . . <i>Rev.</i> Illegible.
CONSTANTINE I, deified.	1	<i>Rev.</i> VN MR (C. 716). M.m. [C]ONS?
HELENA.	1	<i>Rev.</i> PAX PVBLICA (C. 4 or 6). M.m. illegible.
URBS ROMA, with Constanti- nopolis <i>rev.</i>	1	C. 12. M.m. illegible.
HOUSE OF CONSTANTINE.	1	<i>Rev.</i> GLORIA EXERCITVS, one standard with M on it.
CONSTANTIUS II.	3	<i>Rev.</i> FEL TEMP REPARATIO, fallen horseman (2. C. 48). M.ms. illegible.
		<i>Rev.</i> VICTORIAE DD AVGGQ NN (C. 293). M.m. $\overline{\text{TRP}}$ ^D
CONSTANS.	2	<i>Rev.</i> FEL TEMP REPARATIO, fallen horseman (C. 15). M.m. RT <i>Rev.</i> SECVRITAS REIP (C. 102). M.m. illegible.
CONSTANTIUS II, or CONSTANS.	4	<i>Rev.</i> FEL TEMP REPARATIO, fallen horseman (1). M.m. illegible. <i>Rev.</i> VICTORIAE DD AVGGQ NN M.m. RB <i>Rev.</i> VOT XX MVLT XXX (2). M.ms. SMKA, SM . . . [OF]I [CON]ST, and illegible. (Both broken and clipped.)
VALENTINIAN I.	2	<i>Rev.</i> SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE (C. 37). M.ms. [OF]I [CON]ST, and illegible. (Both broken and clipped.)

¹ References are to Mattingly & Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. i (1927), and to Cohen, *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'Empire romain*, vols. vii (1888) and viii (1892).

VALENTINIAN I, or VALENS.	7	<i>Rev.</i> GLORIA ROMANORVM (3). M.ms. $\frac{O}{LVGS} \mid \frac{FII}{LVGS}$, and illegible (2).
GRATIAN.	2	<i>Rev.</i> SECVRTAS REIPVBLICAE (4). M.ms. RQVARTA and illegible (2). Also 1 clipped to $\frac{3}{8}$ inch diameter.
		<i>Rev.</i> CONCORDIA AVGG or AVGGG (C. 2-4). M.m. illegible.
		<i>Rev.</i> Illegible. M.m. illegible. (Both broken and clipped.)
VALENTINIAN II—ARCADIUS.	1	<i>Rev.</i> VICTORIA AVGGG (two Victories). M.m. illegible.
VICTOR.	1	<i>Rev.</i> SPES ROMANORVM (C. 3). M.m. PCON
MAXIMUS, or VICTOR.	1	<i>Rev.</i> SPES ROMANORVM M.m. illegible.
EUGENIUS.	7	<i>Rev.</i> VICTORIA AVGGG M.ms. TCON; LVGP (3); TR (2); illegible (2, 1 attributed by bearded face).
VALENTINIAN II.	15	<i>Rev.</i> SALVS REIPVBLICAE (7). M.ms. AQP, AQS; RB (3); illegible (2). ²
		<i>Rev.</i> VICTORIA AVGGG (8). M.ms. PCON (5), TCON, ... CON (2).
THEODOSIUS.	25	<i>Rev.</i> SALVS REIPVBLICAE (12). M.ms. AQP, AQS; RQ, R... (2); illegible (7).
		<i>Rev.</i> VICTORIA AVGGG (11). M.ms. PCON, SCON, ... CON (4); LVGP; RQ; illegible (3).
		<i>Rev.</i> VOT XV MVLT XX M.m. ANT...
		<i>Rev.</i> Illegible (1).

² The division of the *obr.* legend DN VALENTIN | IANVS shows that these are of the mint of Rome.

- ARCADIUS. 70 *Rev.* SALVS REIPVBLICAE (11). M.ms. AQP, AQS (3); R€ (3); illegible (4).
Rev. VICTORIA AVGGG (58). M.ms. PCON (7), SCON, TCON (2), ... CON (9); LVGP (5); TR (5); illegible (29).
Rev. Illegible (1).
- HONORIUS. 50 *Rev.* SALVS REIPVBLICAE (22). M.ms. RQ (3) DNONORI ...
 1 ... NONORI ... DNHON ... REONORI ... R ... (3);
 DNONO ... DONO ... [H]ONO RI³; illegible (5 with
 unaspirated title; 2 with title in genitive; 1 with aspirated title
 and break after HONO³; 5 uncertain).
Rev. VICTORIA AVGGG (28). M.ms. PCON, TCON (7), ... CON
 (2); LVGP (3); TR; illegible (14).
- HOUSE OF THEODOSIUS. 119 *Rev.* SALVS REIPVBLICAE (48). M.ms. AQP; RP (3), RB (4), RT
 (4), R€, R ... (3); illegible (32).
Rev. VICTORIA AVGGG (55). M.ms. PCON (5), TCON (4), ... CON
 (6); LVGP (4); TR (3); illegible (33). Also one overstruck on
 coin of Valentinian I with *rev.* SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE,
 m.m. ALE ..., and one irregular with *rev.* legend reading r. to l.
 outwardly and ending in AVGG; in exergue AP ...
Rev. Illegible (14).
- ILLEGIBLE. 23 (8 worn absolutely smooth).

³ The break after O is only found with the aspirated title in the genitive. Pearce, *Roman Coinage A.D. 364-423*, p. 23.

A few rare coins deserve special mention: one of Valentinian II with m.m. TCON, one of Theodosius with *rev.* VICTORIA AVGGG and m.m. RQ, and one of Honorius with m.m. TR. Noteworthy also are the overstrike of a VICTORIA AVGGG on a coin of Valentinian I and the curious irregular coin with reverse legend reading outwardly. Further, it may be seen that the coins of Honorius with *rev.* SALVS REIPVBLICAE confirm the view first put forward by Mr. Salisbury⁴ that the mint of Rome regularly omitted the aspirate in his name except in one issue which had a short legend in the genitive case. Of 9 coins bearing the mint-mark of Rome, 7 have the unaspirated title, 1 the aspirated title in the genitive, and 1 beginning DNHON... must, from the spacing, end ORI AVG. Of the 13 coins without mint-mark therefore, the 5 with unaspirated title, the 2 with the title in the genitive, and the one with aspirated title and a break after HONO must be attributed to Rome.

The bulk of this hoard, like others of the same period,⁵ is made up of 4 Æ, which, with the exception of a few of A.D. 383-388, were all minted between A.D. 388 and 395. Coins earlier than A.D. 383 comprise 3 Æ of large module of A.D. 364 onwards, worn, broken or clipped to 4 Æ size, worn Constantinian 3 Æ, and a few radiates. That of Claudius II is almost in mint condition. The 8 obliterated coins probably started life also as 3 Æ.

The 4 Æ coins of A.D. 388 onwards show only slight traces of wear, their illegibility being due to their having been struck on flans too small for the dies, to careless striking, or to corrosion. Despite the fact that so few of the mint and officina marks have been deciphered, the analysis gives practically the same results as those of the Weymouth and Nobottle hoards.

1. After A.D. 388 the second officina of Lyons struck very little bronze. There is none at Stamford.

2. Arcadius is predominant in the mints of Aquileia and Gaul, Honorius in that of Rome.

3. "With this reservation, the officinae of Arles and Rome were assigned to the Augusti in order of seniority."

⁴ *Proc. Dorset Nat. Hist. and Arch. Soc.*, 1930, pp. 159 ff.

⁵ E.g. Icklingham, *Num. Chron.*, 1929, pp. 319 ff.; Weymouth, Salisbury, *op. cit.*, and Nobottle, *Num. Chron.*, 1930, pp. 275 ff., and *Arch. J.*, xc, pp. 282 ff.

SALVS REIPVBLICAE VICTORIA AVGGG.
(single Victory)

	Aquileia I II	Rome I II III IV V	M.ms. illegible.	Arles I II III	Lyons I II	Trier	M.m. illegible.	Total.
VALENTINIAN II . .	1 1	— 3 — — — +27	—	5 — 1 +2	—	—	—	15
THEODOSIUS . . .	1 1	— — — 1 — +2	7	1 1 — +4	1 —	—	3	22
ARCADIUS	1 3	— — — — 3	4	7 1 2 +9	5 —	5	29	69
HONORIUS	— —	— — — 5 1 +11*	5	1 — 7 +2	3 —	1	14	50
HOUSE OF THEODOSIUS	1 —	3 4 4 — 1 +3	32	5 — 4 6	4 —	3	34	104
OFFICINAE TOTALS .	4 5	3 7 4 6 5		19 2 14	13 —			
GRAND TOTALS . .	9	41	50	58	13	9	80	260

^e The nos. preceded by + below the brackets are of coins attributable to mints only, not to officinae.

* Attributed by division of legend.

* Five attributed by unaspirated title, two by title in genitive, one by aspirated title with break after HONO

In the Stamford hoard, Valentinian II occurs in Off. II of Rome (usually I and II), and Off. I of Arles; Theodosius in Off. IV of Rome (usually III and IV) and Off. I and II of Arles; Arcadius in Off. V of Rome; Honorius predominates in Off. III of Arles.

In view of the importance which has recently been shown to attach to the distinction between the broken and unbroken legend, it has seemed advisable to record the evidence supplied in this connexion by the Laxton hoard.

EUGENIUS. Legends broken.

VALENTINIAN II. Legends broken.

THEODOSIUS I. Legends broken.

ARCADIUS.

Salus Reipublicae: Aquileia: 2 broken, 2 uncertain but probably broken.

Rome: 1 broken, 2 uncertain.

M.m. illegible: 2 broken, 2 unbroken.

Victoria Auggg: Arles: Off. I. 7 unbroken.

Off. II. 1 unbroken.

Off. III. 2 unbroken.

Off. ? 7 unbroken, 2 uncertain but from the spacing probably unbroken.

Lyons: 4 unbroken, 1 broken.

Trier: 4 broken, 1 uncertain.

M.m. illegible: 25 unbroken, 4 uncertain.

Type uncertain M.m. illegible: 1 uncertain, probably unbroken.

HONORIUS.

Salus Reipublicae: Rome: Off. IV. 4 unaspirated, broken, 1 aspirated, broken.

Off. V. 1 unaspirated, broken.

Off. ? 1 aspirated, broken, 2 uncertain.

M.m. illegible: Unaspirated. 1 broken, 4 uncertain.

Aspirated in genitive. 2 broken.

1 aspirated with break after HONO

M.m. illegible: Uncertain whether aspirated or unaspirated. 4 broken, 1 uncertain.

Victoria Auggg: Arles: Off. I. 1 unbroken.

Off. III. 7 unbroken.

Off. ? 2 unbroken.

Lyons: 8 unbroken.

Trier: 1 broken.

M.m. illegible: 11 unbroken, 3 uncertain.

As regards the date of the hoard, the proportion of the SALVS REIPVBLICAE type, struck in Italy and the East, to the VICTORIA AVGGG type, struck in the West (100:160, i.e. 5:8), the large representation of Honorius who has 81 per cent. of the total of the four Theodosian emperors, and 71 per cent. of that of Arcadius, and his predominance in the SALVS REIPVBLICAE type, particularly as concentrated in the mint of Rome, suggest a date at least as late as those of the Icklingham, Weymouth, and Nobottle hoards. The importance of the Stamford hoard, therefore, lies in its providing yet another proof of the persistence of Romano-British life in the Midlands until at least the end of the fourth century A.D.

ANNE S. ROBERTSON.

A FIND OF CONSTANTINIAN COINS FROM CAISTER BY YARMOUTH.

On January 30th, 1936, some workmen engaged in laying on water on a new building site at Caister-on-Sea, Norfolk, unearthed a few small bronze coins, and on February 1st, after a heavy rain, a careful search made by Mr. A. R. Bishop, a local antiquary, and by the men, disclosed several more, all lying within about a square yard of ground. No others were found elsewhere. By the exertions of Mr. Bishop and of Mr. P. E. Rumbelow, 61 of the coins were collected and sent to the British Museum for examination, accompanied by a description of 3 others, and a note to the effect that about a dozen more were dispersed among casual workmen and could not be recovered.

From the circumstances of discovery, and from the homogeneous character of the find, it seems certain that the coins had been buried as a hoard, of which the 61 described below may be regarded as fairly representative. With the exception of those of Claudius Gothicus and Tetricus, the coins are all small brass, of the module called "quinaire" by Cohen, several of which have been struck on very small flans.

Claudius Gothicus, deified	2
Tetricus I	1
Constantine I	1
Constantine I, deified	1
Helena, with Constantinopolis <i>rev.</i>	1
Theodora	1
Constantius II, Caesar	8
Constantius II, Caesar, irregular	3
Constantius II, Caesar, with Urbs Roma <i>rev.</i>	1
Constans	2
Constans, irregular	1
Urbs Roma	11
Urbs Roma, with Constantinopolis <i>rev.</i>	2
Urbs Roma, with Gloria Exercitus <i>rev.</i> , irregular	1
Constantinopolis	5
Constantinopolis, irregular	7
Constantinopolis, with Urbs Roma <i>rev.</i>	1
Pop. Romanus	1
Barbarous	11
	<hr/> 61 <hr/>

The coins are of the following types :⁹

CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS.	2	M. & S. v. 1, p. 234, no. 266 (clipped), and 1 with <i>rev.</i> type obliterated.
TETRICUS I.	1	M. & S. v. 2, p. 408, no. 87 (clipped all round except at one point where a protruding tongue has been left).
CONSTANTINE I.	1	<i>Rev.</i> GLORIA EXERCITVS, two standards. (C. 254.) M.m. TRP
CONSTANTINE I, deified.	1	C. 760. M.m. TRP
HELENA, with Constantino- polis <i>rev.</i>	1	M.m. PLG Small flan.
THEODORA.	1	<i>Rev.</i> PIETAS ROMANA (C. 4). M.m. [T]RS Σ Double struck.
CONSTANTIUS II, CAESAR.	8	<i>Obv.</i> CONSTANTIVS NOB C <i>Rev.</i> GLORIA EXERCITVS, two standards. (Not in C.) M.ms. PLG, PL[G], •PLG, SLG (2), and one off flan.
		<i>Obv.</i> As above.
		<i>Rev.</i> As above, but one standard. (Not in C.) M.ms. PLG and one off flan.
CONSTANTIUS II, CAESAR, irregular.	3	<i>Obv.</i> [C]ONSTANTIVS NO C <i>Rev.</i> No legend, one standard. M.m. ΓPL Small flan.
		<i>Obv.</i> OI2TANTIIIVS NOB C
		<i>Rev.</i> Traces of legend, one standard. M.m. CON?
		<i>Obv.</i> Bust laureate, draped, and cuirassed r. ¹⁰
		<i>Rev.</i> Star. Below
		CONSTAN
		2AIT
		CAE SIII
		SMC ^c
		Very small flan, diam. $\frac{3}{8}$ inch.

⁹ References are to Mattingly & Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, vols. v, 1, 2 (Webb), and to Cohen, vol. vii (1858).
¹⁰ In spite of the small size of flan, and of the irregular reverse legend, the bust is of very good workmanship, quite different from those classed as barbarous below.

- CONSTANTIUS II, with Urbs Roma 1
rev. *Obv.* CONSTANTIVS NOB C
Rev. Wolf and twins. Above, two stars. M.m. PLG Small flan.
- CONSTANS. 2
Rev. GLORIA EXERCITVS, one standard. (C. 53, 57.)
M.ms. [C]ONS? and one illegible.
- CONSTANS, irregular. 1
Obv. [CONSTAN]S VC
Rev. [GLORIA EXERCITVS], one standard. M.m. PLG? Small flan.
- URBS ROMA. 11
C. 19. M.ms. PLG (2), PLG (very small flan), PL[G], $\frac{\text{Q}}{\text{PLG}}$, $\frac{\text{P}}{\text{TRP}}$, TPP
(*sic*), [T]R..., and 3 illegible.
- URBS ROMA, with Constanti-
nopolis *rev.* 2
M.ms. ψ PLG, \bullet PLG
- URBS ROMA, irregular. 1
Obv. VRBS [ROMA]
Rev. ...AR Two soldiers with standard between. M.m. PLG.
- CONSTANTINOPOLIS. 5
C. 12. M.ms. PLG, TRP, TRS, and 2 off flan.
- CONSTANTINOPOLIS, irregular. 7
Obv. [CONSTAN]TINOPOL
Rev. M.m. PLG Small flan.
- Obv.* CONSTANTINPOI
Rev. M.m. PLG
- Obv.* C[ON]STANTIHOPOIS
Rev. M.m. TLG (*sic*).
- Obv.* [CONSTAN]TINOPOI
Rev. M.m. [T]RP
- Obv.* [CONSTAN]INOPOL
Rev. M.m. off flan.
- Obv.* ... NPOV ...
Rev. M.m. illegible.
- Obv.* Legend off flan.
Rev. M.m. off flan. Very small flan, irregular work.

CONSTANTINOPOLIS, with Urbs Roma <i>rev.</i>	1	M.m. $\overline{\text{Q}}$ $\overline{\text{TRS}}$	
POP. ROMANUS.	1	C. 2. M.m. CONSIA	Small flan.
BARBAROUS	11	All of bright copper:	
HELENA.	1	<i>Obv.</i> Traces of letters. Bust diademed r. <i>Rev.</i> PAX BB ... Pax l. with branch and sceptre. In exergue, illegible letters.	
PROVIDENTIAE AUGG. or CAESS.	1	<i>Obv.</i> IIIIII Bust diademed l. <i>Rev.</i> IIIIII Camp gate. Small flan.	
GLORIA EXERCITUS.	5	<i>Obv.</i> II OIIXIT2NOO Bust diademed and cuirassed r. <i>Rev.</i> No legend. Two standards. In exergue, 2NOO <i>Obv.</i> CONS ... Bust l. (very barbarous). <i>Rev.</i> No legend. One standard. <i>Obv.</i> IIIIII Bust diademed and cuirassed l. <i>Rev.</i> IIIIII One standard. <i>Obv.</i> Traces of letters. Bust diademed and cuirassed l. <i>Rev.</i> ... O One standard. <i>Obv.</i> No legend. Bust diademed and draped l. <i>Rev.</i> No legend. One standard (very barbarous).	
CONSTANTINOPOLIS.	3	<i>Obv.</i> CON2INIITNOPOIC Bust helmeted l. (barbarous). <i>Rev.</i> In exergue PS? <i>Obv.</i> ... ANO Head r. <i>Obv.</i> C ... KO Bust r. Small flan.	
UNCERTAIN.	1	<i>Obv.</i> IIIIII Bust diademed l. <i>Rev.</i> Figure l. with spear or sceptre in r. hand and large object in l. hand. Very barbarous.	

The 3 coins described by Mr. Rumbelow are all of the Gloria Exercitus type, 1 of Constantine II, Caesar (two standards, m.m. PLC), and 2 of Constantius II, Caesar (two standards, no m.m. given, and one standard, m.m. TRS).

The coins of Claudius II and Tetricus I are much worn and obviously survivals, one of which has been clipped to the size of the Constantinian coins, while in another, that of Tetricus, the process has been begun but never completed. The other 58 coins comprise 35 official issues minted between A.D. 330 and 337 at Lyons (17), Trier (9), Arles (1, doubtful), and Constantinople (1), besides 7 with mint-marks illegible, 12 irregular issues of the same types and mints (Lyons 6, Trier 1, Arles 1?, and illegible 4) and 11 of unmistakably barbarous workmanship. All show only slight traces of wear, although many are corroded. Of the two latest official issues, that of Constantine I deified (A.D. 337) is slightly worn, that of Pop. Romanus (A.D. 335-337) unworn. There is therefore no reason to assign a later date to the deposit than one shortly after A.D. 337.

Hoard of Constantinian coins are extremely common in England, but the closest parallels to the Caister find come from Corbridge, Northumberland, which yielded no fewer than three hoards of what the excavators described as "third brass and minims", all minted between A.D. 330 and 337. "The majority of the coins are forgeries, being small base money of Constantine II as Caesar, with the GLORIA EXERCITVS reverse, as well as the CONSTANTINOPOLIS and VRBS ROMA types."¹¹ It is clear that both at Corbridge and at Caister these savings were amassed in a society which preferred as its medium of exchange the smallest bronze coins current, supplemented where necessary by crude, probably local, imitations.

Last spring, while the work of putting in sewers on the site at Caister was being carried on, the workmen came upon foundations of walls, and at one point dug into a cemetery. A large amount of pottery was turned up, and at intervals during a period of four or five months the following coins were found: Victorinus, 1; Allectus, 1; illegible radiate, 1; Diocletian, 1; Constantine II, Caesar, 1; Constantinian, 3 (VOT X 1, GLORIA EXERCITVS 2); and Valentinian I, 1. These indicate an occupation of the site extending to Valentinian I or later.¹²

ANNE S. ROBERTSON.

¹¹ *Archaeologia Aeliana* (3), iv, pp. 282-283, and v, p. 361.

¹² For this information and for a description of these coins I have to thank Mr. Bishop and Mr. Rumbelow.

VII.

BRITISH MUSEUM ACQUISITIONS FOR THE YEARS 1933-1934.

[SEE PLATES XII AND XIII.]

IN spite of straightened means, acquisitions during these two years have been well up to the average. A few of the more important pieces have been mentioned from time to time in the *British Museum Quarterly*, but no apology is needed for their more detailed publication here. Beside the coins dealt with below, the acquisitions included a certain number of coins of North Africa which will appear in the Catalogue of that district; the greater part of a hoard of coins of Thasos, Abdera, and Byzantium already published (*Num. Chron.*, 1934, p. 244); five coins from the Larnaca hoard also already published (*Num. Chron.*, 1935, p. 166); and three staters (two purchased, one the gift of Mr. H. Herzfelder) from a recent find of Aphrodisias and "Olbia", which will be published in the following number of the Chronicle. Among the more important pieces attention may be drawn to nos. 1, 2, 4, 36, 37, 43, and 51.

RHODA.

1. *Obv.*—Head of nymph I., wearing triple-pendant ear-ring and necklace, with wreath of corn; in front upwards, ΠΟΔΗΤΩΝ; linear circle.
- Rev.*—Full-blown rose of degenerate form in which the sepals are reduced to a cross with four stars in the quarters.

AV 19.5 mm., 77.6 gr. (5.03 grm.). [Pl. XII. 1.]

Presented by Sir George Hill, K.C.B.

This is the coin already published by Vives (*La Moneda Hispanica*, i, p. 4; ii, Pl. I, no. 8) from a rubbing which did not enable him to determine the legend. It was said to have been found at Rosas which is on or near the site of the ancient town. Vives regarded it as a Gaulish imitation,¹ and the style is certainly rough and the rose degenerate in form. On the other hand, style is very variable among the accepted coins of Rhoda; Gaulish imitations usually show a blundered legend, and here the letters (though blurred by double striking) are perfectly clear and well formed, while the weight is of the standard peculiar to the place and to neighbouring mints. These points coupled with the reputed provenance suggest that we may have here after all a coin of Rhoda itself. No other gold of this or any other Spanish place is known, though a doubtful tradition of a gold piece of Emporiae with "Greek types" is recorded by Zobel on the strength of a statement of Lorichs,² which if accurate would afford a very close parallel. In any case, it is an exceptional issue probably owing its origin to the stress of the Second Punic War.

SICILY: ALAESA.

2. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus Eleutherios r., laureate; around, beginning on r. above and divided by neck,
 I E Y Σ E Λ | E Y Θ E Π I O Σ; dotted circle.

Rev.—Flaming torch standing between two corn-plants on thick ground line; around, beginning above and ending to l. of corn-plant on l., Σ Y M M

¹ A view which Hill (*Num. Notes and Mon.* no. 50: "Coinage of Hisp. Cit.", p. 9) accepted before seeing the coin itself, but no longer holds.

² Zobel de Zangroniz, *Estudio . . . de la Mon. Espan.*, p. 44.

AX...N•; linear circle; double-struck (and overstruck?).

Æ 32.0 mm., 522.1 gr. (33.83 grm.). [Pl. XII. 2.]

This coin was formerly in the Alessi collection and was published by its possessor (with an engraving which makes the identification certain) in the *Giornale di Scienze . . . per la Sicilia*, tom xxxviii (1832), pp. 299 seqq., where it is ascribed to Enna. A similar coin exists in Berlin on which the reverse legend is *Συμμαχικον*, but another in the Pennisi collection reads *Συμμαχικον Αλαιοισιων*.³ Our specimen is so badly double-struck on the reverse that the type is repeated at an acute angle to itself and the inscription is lost save for the early letters and the final letter with stop, the latter an interesting and unusual feature. The size of the letters and the spacing, however, make it almost certain that it agrees with the Berlin coin in reading *Συμμαχικον* only. This is the more interesting as it is struck from the same obverse die as the Pennisi specimen. This die is of great technical interest as it has been re-engraved. The straggling legend already suggests this, but traces of the original lettering show that the earliest inscription on the right of the head was *ΙΕΥΣΕΛΕΥ*, compactly written as on the Berlin coin.

The latter, which has a smaller head, reads *ΙΕΥΣΕΛΕΥ* on r., *ΘΕ* beneath the bust, and *ΠΙΘΣ* on l., and has a linear border. But it is more than possible that this too was struck from the same die

³ G. Cavallaro, "Le Monete d. Alesini", in *Atti e Mem.* viii (1934), p. 6, nos. 1 and 7; the latter appears to be the specimen quoted by Head (*Syracuse*, p. 37) from an engraved but unissued plate of Salinas.

when in its original state. The course of events would then have been that the flaw already visible on the truncation of the neck spread to cover the letters ΘE beneath it; this involved (1) a lengthening of the bust to cover the flaw nearly to the bottom of the field, (2) a corresponding increase in its breadth to preserve its proportions, (3) a redistribution of the legend as there was no longer room for any letters under the neck. What appears to be a trace of the original line of truncation and of the flaw may still be seen at the back immediately below the E , and also a trace of the original linear circle above the crown of the head. A similar recut die on which a small head has become large may be seen at Sinope.⁴ If all three coins are from the same die it leads to the interesting conclusion that the simple legend precedes that to which the name of Alaesa is added. Cavallaro (*l. c.*) has recently collected and discussed all the material for the puzzling series to which our coin belongs. It should be noted that his no. 8 with the head of Sicily and the lyre (cited from *B.M.C., Sicily*, p. 27, no. 1) is really a coin of Herbessus, as is shown by the better preserved specimen in the Lloyd Collection⁵ and should be read, apparently, $E\rho\beta\eta\sigma\sigma\omicron\eta\nu\omega\nu$. In the course of his detailed and stimulating discussion reason is shown for dating the series precisely from 338 B.C., but the theory that Alaisini is a generic term for wandering folk made homeless by continual wars will not appeal to many philologists, and the conclusion that the coins were struck at Erbita seems to the present writer to go far beyond the evidence.

⁴ *Num. Chron.*, 1930, p. 9, nos. 22-23.

⁵ *Sylloge Num. Graec.*, vol. ii, no. 1001.

MARCIANOPOLIS.

3. *Obv.*—ΜΟΠΕΛΛ[ΙΟΥ]ΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ; bust of Diadumenian r., bare-headed, wearing paludamentum; dotted circle.

Rev.—ΜΑΡΚΙΑΝΟΠΟΛΕΙ | ΤΩΝ; lion with open jaws, advancing l.; dotted border.

Æ ↑ 17.0 mm., 50.9 gr. (3.30 grm.). [Pl. XII. 3.]

Presented by F. Berry.

This pretty little coin is not recorded in the Berlin Corpus,⁶ though it closely resembles one there attributed to Elagabalus.

ABDERA.

4. *Obv.*—Griffin recumbent l., on ground line; above ΑΒΔΗΡΙ.

Rev.—Cult image of Artemis standing to front on base, with arms flexed and raised, holding branch in r. hand, and composite, strung bow in l.; she wears long girdled chiton and polos, with the hair falling in heavy locks down over the shoulders; behind, a stag l., with upturned head nibbling at the branch; on l. ΕΠΙΠΟΛΥ, on r. ΚΡΑΤΕΟΣ; square incuse.

AR ↓ 24.0 mm., 169.6 gr. (10.99 grm.). [Pl. XII. 6.]

This stater, of which there is another specimen, apparently from the same dies, in Berlin, belongs to a group struck on the Persian standard and dated by Strack⁷ to the decade 400-390 B.C. The same obverse die was used for another stater bearing the same magistrate's name, but in the nominative and with a different representation of Artemis (Corpus no. 135); its wear shows ours to be the later coin. In view of

⁶ *Ant. Münz. Nord-Griechenlands*, I (Pick), pp. 249-52; cp., however, p. 268, no. 915.

⁷ *Ibid.*, II. i. 1, p. 83, no. 136.

this close association the difference in the manner of naming the magistrate can have no significance.

MACEDONIA: ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

5. *Obv.*—Head of Athena r., wearing necklace and triple-crested Corinthian helmet, the bowl of which is decorated with a serpent; the hair hangs in loose curls over the neck, covering the ear.

Rev.—Nike l., holding wreath in outstretched r. hand and stylis over l. arm; on r., ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ; on l., Μ, Α; linear circle.

N ↑ 18.0 mm., 131.8 gr. (8.54 grm.). [Pl. XII. 4.]

6. Similar, but *rev.* on l., ivy (smilax?) leaf; on r., Γ.

N ↗ 18.0 mm., 133.1 gr. (8.62 grm.).

Nos. 5-6 presented by Mr. E. S. G. Robinson.

7. Similar, but *obv.* the hair in formal curls; *rev.* on l., sphinx seated r., and Μ

N ↑ 18.5 mm., 131.3 gr. (8.51 grm.).

From S.W. Asia Minor.

None of these staters appears in L. Müller's *Numismatique d'Alexandre le Grand*. No. 5 is remarkable for the large coarse-featured head which almost suggests a male portrait rather than the goddess.

THESSALY.

The Thessalian series has been notably enriched by the acquisition of the collection formed by the Very Rev. Edgar Rogers, Dean of Bocking, the 283 silver and 619 bronze coins thus added being almost sufficient to double our previous numbers. Its main importance lies in the long series of bronze coins in admirable condition, mostly from the Pozzi, Vlasto, and Warren cabinets, which, while they provide many beautiful and

interesting varieties,⁸ do not call for individual treatment here. A certain number of coins, however, which are definitely new to the Museum collection or raise some special point of interest may be mentioned.

THESSALIAN LEAGUE.

The following coins provide additions or corrections to the existing names in the lists of magistrates of the Thessalian League.⁹ Most of them are from the Rogers Collection, but I have taken the opportunity of adding any fresh material from other recent acquisitions.

A. Silver: double Victoriata.

Obv. Head of Zeus. *Rev.* ΘΕΣΣΑ | ΑΩΝ Athena Itonia.

8. *Obv.*—Behind, ΞΕΝΟΦΑΝΤ[ΟΣ]

Rev.—ΑΜΥ | ΝΑΝ | ΔΡΟΥ across field; above on r., owl; in field r., ΑΥΥ | Π

Æ ↑ 22.0 mm., 94.0 gr. (6.10 grm.) [Pl. XII. 8];
another, ↑ 21.5 mm., 96.8 gr. (6.27 grm.).

It is usual for the name on the obverse to be in the genitive, so that Ξενοφάντος is perhaps a dialect genitive of Ξενοφῶν rather than a nominative. This name has been given as Λυκοφάντος from an indistinct specimen (*Num. Chron.*, 1913, p. 263), but the two Rogers coins leave no doubt as to the correct reading.

⁸ All will be found described in the Dean's publication, *The Copper Coinage of Thessaly* (Spink, 1932).

⁹ R. Münsterberg, *Die Beamtennamen auf den griechischen Münzen*, p. 34; also Münsterberg-Kubitschek, *Nachtrag*, p. 11; G. Kroeg, *de Foederis Thessalorum Praetoribus*, Diss. Phil. Halens. xviii (1911), p. 1, with references to previous literature and discussion of the significance of magistrates' names.

9. *Obv.*—Behind upwards, ΠΠ?
Rev.—A ΠΙΣ | ΤΟ ΚΛ | ΗC
AR ↑ 23.0 mm., 95.2 gr. (6.17 grm.). Larissa
 hoard (cp. *Num. Chron.*, l. c.).
10. *Obv.*—Behind upwards, [Π]ΥΘΕΟΥ
Rev.—ΚΟ Τ | Τ Υ; on r., radiate bust facing and
 corn-ear with leaf.
AR ↑ 23.0 mm., 94.5 gr. (6.12 grm.).
11. *Obv.*—Behind upwards, [ΑΠΙ?]ΣΤΙΩΝΟΣ
Rev.—ΚΟΤ | Τ Υ; above on l., star.
AR ↑ 21.5 mm., 97.0 gr. (6.29 grm.). Larissa
 hoard (*Num. Chron.*, l. c.).
12. As no. 11, but *obv.* behind upwards, [ΑΠΙ?]ΣΤ
AR ↗ 21.0 mm., 96.5 gr. (6.25 grm.). Larissa
 hoard (*Num. Chron.*, l. c.).
13. *Obv.*—Behind, ΠΠ
Rev.—Κ ΟΤ | Τ Υ
AR ↑ 21.0 mm., 93.9 gr. (6.08 grm.).
14. *Obv.*—Behind downwards, ΣΩΣΙΒΙΟΥ
Rev.—Σ Ι | Μ Υ; above on r. Τ?
AR ↑ 23.0 mm., 95.4 gr. (6.18 grm.). Larissa
 hoard (*Num. Chron.*, l. c.).
15. *Obv.*—No name.
Rev.—Above, [Ε]ΥΚ ΟΛΟΣ; in exergue, ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΣ
AR ↑ 22.0 mm., 95.5 gr. (6.19 grm.).
16. *Obv.*—No name.
Rev.—Above, ΕΥΠΑ ΛΙΔ; below, Κ Α; in exergue,
 ΗΓΗΣΑΡΕΤΟ
AR ↑ 24.0 mm., 85.1 gr. (5.51 grm.). [Pl. XII. 7.]

The first name has been twice misread by Mionnet (*Med. ant.*, ii, p. 2, nos. 8 and 24) as *Ευκλι* and *Υπαλιδο*. The *Ευρυδ* . . on a Bunbury coin (i, no. 834) is almost

BRITISH MUSEUM ACQUISITIONS FOR 1933-1934. 177
 certainly the same name. The true form, already
 known from inscriptions, was established by Münster-
 berg-Kubitschek, *l. c.*, *Supp.*, p. 11.

17. *Obv.*—No name.

Rev.—Above, ITA ΛΟΥ; in exergue, ΑΡΝΙΑΣ

AR ↑ 23.0 mm., 91.6 gr. (5.94 grm.); another
 22.0 mm., 90.9 gr. (5.89 grm.).

18. *Obv.*—No name.

Rev.—Above, ΚΥΛ ΛΟΥ; in exergue, ΠΕΤΡΑΙΟΣ

AR ↑ 29.5 mm., 94.4 gr. (6.12 grm.).

B. Silver: Attic drachm.

Obv. Head of Apollo r., laureate. *Rev.* ΘΕΣΣΑ | ΛΩΝ
 Athena Itonia r.

19. *Obv.*—Behind, Α

Rev.—Above on r., owl perched on spear.

AR ↑ 19.0 mm., 66.6 gr. (4.32 grm.), purchased in
 1927; another ↓ 18.5 mm., 59.8 gr. (3.87
 grm.).

20. *Obv.*—Behind, Ξ

Rev.—Φ ο

AR ↗ 18.5 mm., 62.5 gr. (4.05 grm.); another ↑
 57.9 gr. (3.75 grm.).

21. *Obv.*—Behind upwards. ΕΠΙΑΝ[ΑΡΟ] | ΣΘΕΝΟΥ[Σ]

Rev.—Α ΡΙΣ | ΤΟ | ΚΛ | Η | Σ

AR ↑ 20.0 mm., 65.0 gr. (4.21 grm.). Larissa
 hoard (*Num. Chron.*, *l. c.*).

22. *Obv.*—Probably no name; the space behind the head
 off the flan.

Rev.—Above, ΘΡΑΣΥΛΟ; on r., Π; beneath,
 Π ΑΥ | Σ Α

AR ↑ 21.0 mm., 63.8 gr. (4.13 grm.). Larissa
 hoard (cp. *Num. Chron.*, *l. c.*).

Nos. 21 and 22 are interesting as providing links between the Attic drachms and the victoriatas. The first pair of names occurs on victoriatas from the Larissa hoard (*Num. Chron.*, *l. c.*), the second on *B.M.C.*, no. 9. The style of both Apollo heads is rougher than usual.

23. *Obv.*—Probably no name; space behind head almost off flan; head very similar in style to no. 21.

Rev.—Above, two stars; below, Τ Ι | Μ Α; on r. in smaller letters downwards, ΚΑΛΛΙ | ΣΤΡΑ

Æ ↑ 18.0 mm., 62.5 gr. (4.05 grm.).

C. Silver: Attic hemidrachm.

Obv. and *rev.* types, &c., of double victoriate.

24. *Obv.*—Behind downwards, ΓΑΥΑ

Rev.—Below, Π Ο | Λ Υ; on r. above, bunch of grapes.

Æ ↘ 15.0 mm., 28.5 gr. (1.85 grm.).

The coinage of the Thessalian League has never been adequately worked over, and a detailed study of it should yield fruitful results. Each coin usually bears two or more names, but it is uncertain whether one of these is necessarily that of the chief annual magistrate (*στρατηγός*), and if so which one. It is generally supposed, but by no means certain, that when there is a name on the obverse it is that of the strategus, and that when there is not, his name is the first of those on the reverse. The coinage as a whole is assigned by Head (*Hist. Num.*, p. 311) to the years between 196 B.C., when Flamininus after defeating Macedonia and liberating Greece established a free régime in Thessaly, and 146, when the Romans after the fourth Macedonian and the Achaean wars abolished the federal leagues and ranged Greece under the same governorship

as Macedonia. The Thessalian league, however, is not one of those whose dissolution is specifically mentioned, and in view of its pro-Roman policy we may perhaps doubt how seriously its status was changed. Certainly the evidence of inscriptions shows the office of strategus to have been still in existence between 146 and 49 B.C., when Caesar restored the liberty of the country, and, it is supposed, reconstituted the League, which lasted thenceforward late into Imperial times. The attribution, therefore, of this abundant coinage to the years 196-146 can hardly stand. In the first place there are more than fifty different magistrates' names, or groups of names, on the series of double victoriates in the British Museum alone, to say nothing of others on other denominations and in other collections. In the second, the style is very variable, often rougher than one would expect for the early second century, and with few points of contact with other coinages of the period, e.g. that of the Boeotian League. Attempts to identify some of the names preserved in Eusebius' list of the first seventeen strategi from 196 B.C., with those found on the coins are not convincing. A few names are the same, but the style of the coins on which they occur seems to demand a later date, and as the chief magistracy appears to have remained in the hands of a comparatively few wealthy families we are apt to find the same names recurring in it generation after generation. It seems clear that the League coinage in silver as well as bronze must extend far into the first century B.C., possibly with a short break immediately after the settlement of 146. When it began is a difficult question. It is perhaps worth remarking that the drachmae of the Attic weight are

usually of better style than the double victoriatas, usually have the names more abbreviated and show few connexions with the double victoriatas in the way of magistrates; also (a small but significant point) the dies from which they are struck are less regularly adjusted to each other than are those of the double victoriate. It may even be that the detailed study suggested above would find that the series of Attic weight in general preceded the double victoriatas.

25. *Obv.*—Macedonian shield charged with star.

Rev.—ΘΕΣΣΑ above, ΑΩΝ below; uncertain object, perhaps a sling or diadem?

Æ 13.5 mm., 35.7 gr. (2.31 grm.); another, with reverse type inverted, 13.0 mm., 33.6 gr. (2.18 grm.). S. P. Cockerell Collection, 1920.

The reverse type is so sketchily engraved that it is hard to determine. The same object occurs as a symbol on a late didrachm of the Aenianes with the magistrate's name *Ευκρατος* and the types of nos. 26 seqq. below.¹⁰ It is certainly not a lyre as has been suggested (Rogers, *op. cit.*, p. 18, with fig.), and is most probably a sling, an object which would have special appropriateness as a symbol among the Aenianes. The date of issue is equally problematic. There is nothing to guide us in the way of style, though the lettering can hardly be earlier than the late third century and closely resembles that on the federal coinage of the second century. The obverse type, however, suggests a political connexion with Macedonia, and in this type and in general appearance the coin closely resembles the quasi-autonomous Macedonian issues permitted by

¹⁰ H. A. Green Collection, Sotheby 8 : iv : 1895, lot 155 (plate).

Philip V and Perseus from 189 B.C. onwards. It is possible that the operations of Perseus in Thessaly during the third Macedonian war led to a brief and partial revival of the old Macedonian control over the League, and that our coin was struck at that time. Failing such an explanation, it must be assigned to the period before Cynoscephalae when the League was subject to Philip V, though no general coinage of the Macedonian period is otherwise known.

AENIANES.

Obv.—Head of Athena r. in helmet decorated with griffin, quadriga and volute, the type modelled on the Athenian "new style" coinage; dotted circle.

Rev.—Slinger; on l., ΑΙΝΙΑΝΩΝ; on r., magistrate's name.

26. *Rev.*—ΑΓΕΜ

Α ↑ 23.0 mm., 117.6 gr. (7.62 grm.).

27. *Rev.*—ΜΥΝΝΙΩΝ and winged caduceus.

Α ↑ 23.0 mm., 98.5 gr. (6.38 grm., filed for mounting).

28. *Obv.*—Similar, but behind, ΕΥΒΙΟΤΟΣ

Rev.—Similar; on l. and r., ΑΙΝΙ ΑΝΩΝ

Α ↑ 24.5 mm., 117.7 gr. (7.63 grm.) [Pl. XII. 9]; another (same *obv.* die) ↑ 22.0 mm., 116.7 gr. (7.56 grm.).

The name on no. 26, *Αγεμ(-ων, -αχος)* is not recorded by Münsterberg (*l. c.*). *Αγεμαχος* occurs as the name of one of the five *Ανταρχαι*, the ruling magistrates of the community, in a second-century inscription.¹¹ *Μυννιων* on no. 27 enables us to correct the doubtful *Μυννις* on *B.M.C.*, no. 11. A *Ευβιоторος* occurs more than once

¹¹ Collitz, *Dialekt-Inschriften* II, no. 1432.

on late coins of the Thessalian League. Didrachms of similar types to nos. 26-27 but with the names of *Αγην(ων)*, *Νικοβουλος*, and *Περικλει(δης)* were also acquired at the same time. This issue is placed by Head (*H.N.*², p. 292) in the period between the years 168 B.C., when the Romans in finally settling with the Aetolians restored their freedom to the Aenianes, and 146 B.C., when he supposes them to have taken it away again. But here the same difficulty arises as arose with the coinage of the Thessalian League, for a period of twenty-two years is far too brief for the coinage. The community was governed by the five (presumably annual) magistrates just mentioned, and in several cases the names on the coins are the same as those of men whom we know to have held this office. This does not, however, necessarily imply that the names on the coins are those of one of the ruling Aeniarchs, though such may have been the practice. Even if it were, we cannot suppose that in this poor and remote district it was usual to make more than one issue of coinage a year at the most. As there are forty different names on this one denomination alone, it is clear that a far longer period of time than twenty-two years must be involved, and that the coinage may have continued well into the first century B.C.

ATRAX.

29. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo r., laureate, with long hair knotted behind and hanging in curls over the neck.

Rev.—Horse standing r. on ground line; above and in exergue, ΑΤΡΑ ΓΙΩΝ

Æ † 20.5 mm., 104.0 gr. (6.74 grm.) [Pl. XII. 10].
From the Vlasto and Pozzi Collections.

The head, sometimes described as that of a nymph, is clearly Apollo's, and somewhat resembles a type of Seleucus I (*B.M.C., Syria*, p. 6, no. 59, &c.). The coin must belong to the early third century.

METROPOLIS.

30. *Obv.*—Head of Aphrodite l., wearing ear-ring and necklace, the hair knotted behind.

Rev.—Dove with open wings r., alighting (?) on branch; around, beginning on l. above, [M]HTPO ΠΟΛΙ //

Æ ← 23.0 mm., 118.7 gr. (7.69 grm.) [Pl. XII. 14].
From the Warren and Vlasto Collections.

This little coin which was struck about 300 B.C. appears to be otherwise unknown, the usual obverse type of the bronze being a head of Apollo. Aphrodite, however, under the epithet Kastneitis was the goddess of the city and her head appears on the earlier silver coins.

PELINNA.

31. *Obv.*—Head of Athena r. in crested Corinthian helmet; dotted circle.

Rev.—Nike going l., carrying wreath in l. and palm in r. hand; on l. and r., ΠΕΛΙΝ ΝΑΙΕΩΝ

Æ ↑ 23.5 mm., 129.9 gr. (8.42 grm.). Pozzi Collection. [Pl. XII. 13.]

Late third or even second century. A fine example of this very rare coin.

PHERAE?

32. *Obv.*—Satyr's head facing, bearded, with horse's ears.

Rev.—Forepart of bull r.; on l., double-axe; on r. upwards, ΦΕ

Lead ↘ 19.0 mm., 136.6 gr. (8.85 grm.). [Pl. XII. 5.]

It is difficult to suggest what purpose this "tessera" was intended to serve. Somewhat similar strikes in lead have been held to be proofs, and the B.M. possesses such pieces of Tanagra and Lycia.¹² The types, however, are not those of any known issue, nor does the way of treating the obverse give quite the feeling of a coin. The attribution to Pherae is, of course, not certain, though the double-axe occurs both as symbol and type on the coins of the tyrant Alexander, while the half bull (charging, not standing) is a type of Teisiphonus as well (*H.N.*², pp. 308-9). A satyr's head rather like the present one occurs on an earlier hekte of Phocaea,¹³ but here the treatment is only archaistic and the date must be well on into the fourth century.

SCOTUSSA.

33. *Obv.*—Helmet, with neck- and cheek-pieces, r. ; dotted border.

Rev.—Ram standing r. on club ; above, ΣΚΟΤΟΥ

Æ ↑ 15.0 mm., 39.8 gr. (2.58 grm.). [Pl. XII. 12.]
Vlasto Collection.

The significance of the types, which do not occur otherwise in this series, is not obvious, though the club, which figures as an adjunct on the reverse, belongs to Heracles, the patron of the city. The coin was most probably struck in the earlier part of the fourth century before Alexander of Pherae seized the place in 367 B.C.

¹² *Num. Chron.*, 1917, pp. 7-8 (perhaps not ancient), and *B.M.C.*, *Lycia*, Pl. XLIII. 1.

¹³ E. Babelon, *Traité*, Pl. IV. 18.

EPHESUS?

34. *Obv.*—Bee l., seen in profile.

Rev.—Two square incuses set side by side.

El. 11.5 mm., 72.6 gr. (4.70 grm.). [Pl. XII. 16.]

This trite of the Milesian standard appears to be unpublished. The type is very rudely engraved and the details are not quite certain. The wings seem to be shown one above and one beneath the body, as is common in archaic renderings of birds (e.g. at Siphnus);¹⁴ behind are what appear to be three trailing legs, perhaps the hind pair and that one of the middle pair which is not covered by the lowered wing. A similar and equally rude technique was employed on early electrum of Samos known from a find made in the island,¹⁵ and both issues must be roughly contemporary. Though perhaps not so primitive as they look, they can hardly be later than the middle of the seventh century. The present coin came from a find made in recent years on the western coast of Asia Minor, which contained not less than twenty-four similar specimens. As, however, the find contained no coins of other types, there is little to be learnt from it. The attribution to Ephesus is most probable. There are somewhat later electrum coins of the same weight, with the same kind of incuse and the same type, but seen from above, and silver drachms on which the bee is in profile,¹⁶ both generally recognized as belonging to this mint.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Pl. LXI. 25.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, II. i, cols. 217-218 and Pl. IX, nos. 5 seqq.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Pl. II. 21 and 23, Pl. XI. 13-14.

EPHESUS.

35. *Obv.*—Bee seen from above; on l. and r., Ε ϕ; dotted circle.

Rev.—Forepart of stag r. with head turned back; behind, palm-tree with fruit; on r., ϕ Ω Κ Υ Λ Ο Σ

At ↑ 25.0 mm., 235.8 gr. (15.28 grm.).

[Pl. XII. 11.]

The magistrate's name is unknown to Münsterberg. It enables us to complete the fragmentary inscription on an earlier stater in the British Museum which is overstruck on another coin apparently of the same types with a name containing the element . . PIM.¹⁷ This earlier stater belongs to the small class which shows the bee with slightly curving wings dated by Head to the years 394–387 B.C.¹⁸ The new coin has a bee with straight wings and accordingly belongs to the later period of which the beginning is about 387 and the lowest limit the capture of the city by Lysimachus in 295 and the change of its name to Arsinoeia. As it is reasonable to suppose that the same Phoculus is referred to on both coins, he must have held office at the beginning of the period. He shared an obverse die, distinguishable among other things by the flaw in the field on the right, with two other magistrates, Artemidorus and Antiandrus. What was this magistracy? As there are now upwards of 150 different names known on these staters it cannot have been a single annual one covering the whole year, as Head (*l. c.*) supposes, while the sharing of the obverse die just noticed points to a board of

¹⁷ *Num. Chron.*, 1913, p. 268.

¹⁸ *Ephesus*, p. 33.

subordinate officials. If this is the case there is no need to carry the coinage so far down into the age of the Diadochi, and an earlier date for its cessation would be, perhaps, more in keeping with the political and economic conditions of the time.

SMYRNA.

36. *Obv.*—Head of Cybele in turreted crown r., wearing ear-ring.

Rev.—Statue of Aphrodite Stratoniceis, standing to front in long girdled robe with the l. breast bare, and resting her l. elbow on column; with her r. hand she grasps a fold of her robe, and in her l. holds Nike, who reaches to crown her; on r., IMYPNAION , on l., ΠΡΥΤΑΝΕΙΣ

N ↓ 20.5 mm., 128.3 gr. (8.31 grm.). [Pl. XII. 15.]

Only one other example of this remarkable stater is known.¹⁹ It belongs to a little group of gold coinages²⁰ which broke out in the Ionian cities when they revolted to join Mithradates the Great against Rome during the war of 88-84 B.C. There can be no doubt that Smyrna was among the rebels, though it has been questioned,²¹ for apart from the present coin there is a bronze coin with a characteristic portrait of Mithradates and a Victory as reverse type.²² The inscription is remarkable in that unlike other coins of Smyrna it bears no individual name to fix responsibility for the

¹⁹ In the Paris Collection, from the same *obv.* but a different *rev.* die: J. G. Milne in *Num. Chron.*, 1927, p. 102, no. 344.

²⁰ For which see Regling, *Z. f. N.*, xxxv (1925), p. 266, in publishing a gold stater of Tralles.

²¹ E.g. by Büchner in the last edition of Pauly's *Real-Encycl.*, s.v., col. 764.

²² Milne, *ibid.*, p. 101, no. 340.

issue, but only the title (Prytaneis) of the presiding magistrates at whose direction it must have been struck. It looks as if no one wished to assume personal responsibility for such an overt act of rebellion as the issue of gold, which appears to have been regarded in Asia from early times as a prerogative of the suzerain power.

UNCERTAIN CARIAN.

37. *Obv.*—Naked winged figure, in the kneeling-running posture l., with arms outstretched; head and legs are in profile to l., wings and trunk frontal.

Rev.—Ox standing r.; above, three, and below, four letters $\Phi \Delta \Lambda \Delta \rangle \uparrow \Delta$; the whole in square dotted frame; square incuse.

R \leftarrow 27.0 \times 15.0 mm., 179.1 gr. (11.60 gm.).
[Pl. XII. 17.] Overstruck on an Aeginetic stater, the turtle's head on which appears sideways beneath the right knee of the running figure.

This unique coin, though it resembles in several respects the coins contained in the Carian hoard referred to at the beginning of this article, and though it came on the market at the same time and from the same quarter, was not according to my information part of the hoard. Unfortunately, owing to overstriking, and to die-wear in the obverse, its details are not so clear as might be desired. The figure appears to be male, with short hair. It is uncertain whether, as in the similar female figure at Aphrodisias,²³ the heels were winged or the hands held any object (e.g. a caduceus). The sex of the animal is also uncertain, though the heavy head and neck suggest a bull. Provenance and

²³ *Traité*, Pl. XXV, no. 8 seqq.

similarity in style, types, fabric and weight-standard to the coins in the hoard just mentioned and others of the Carian district justify an attribution to that part of the world, and on stylistic grounds the coin may be dated to about 475. The inscription, of which the last two letters, though not quite perfect, are reasonably certain, is of great interest. It is clearly written in one of the local alphabets of Western Asia Minor. These alphabets may be most conveniently studied in J. Friedrich's *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler*. An examination of the forms there given shows that while only the first, second, and fourth letters occur in the Lydian alphabet, and only the second and fifth in the Lycian, all except the fourth occur in the Carian. We may therefore conclude that, as the provenance &c., suggests, the alphabet and language are a form of Carian. In this connexion it may be noticed that the same two letters occur as a termination not infrequently in the seventh- and early sixth-century graffiti from Egypt, often containing the names of Carian mercenaries, and perhaps represent a genitive termination. One especially, transliterated m-g-u-l-ne-vo, contains four of the five final letters found on our coin inscription.²⁴ The differing letter, the fourth on the coin, is new to the Carian alphabet. It can hardly have the mere consonantal value (*g*) that is doubtfully assigned to it in Lydian, for it comes between a consonant (also *g*) and a liquid (*l*). It must either be a vowel, or, if it be correct to regard the Carian alphabet as a mixture of letters and syllabic signs, then it may be one of the latter, perhaps a syllable containing a weaker or

²⁴ Friedrich, *op. cit.*, p. 92, nos. 2, 3, and especially 4.

stronger form of g. The whole inscription would then read A-ti-g-[gu?]le-vo and would contain the name of a dynast rather than of a city, as commonly on contemporary coins of Lycia. The types may have a solar significance, and the running figure should be compared with the coins of Aphrodisias and "Olbia" already mentioned, and of Mallus.²⁵ Lion and bull, perhaps with a solar significance, occur as complementary types on somewhat later coins of the Carian Chersonesus²⁵ which cannot have been very far from the place where our coin was struck. It may even be that we have to do with an earlier issue of the same mint.

CALYMNA.

38. *Obv.*—Beardless male head r. in close-fitting helmet with crest, and neck- and cheek-pieces.

Rev.—Lyre with six strings (cithara); above, star; on r., ΚΛΕΥΦΑΝΗΣ; on l., ΚΑΛΥΜΝΙΟΝ; the whole in square dotted frame.

AR ↑ 18.0 mm., 84.0 gr. (5.45 grm.) [Pl. XIII. 1.]

39. *Obv.*—Similar.

Rev.—Similar; same symbol and name; no trace of dotted frame.

AR ↑ 15.0 mm., 42.9 gr. (2.78 grm.) [Pl. XIII. 2.]

Nos. 38-9 presented by E. S. G. Robinson.

These two coins come from the same find as the Coan coins below (nos. 40 seq.); it also contained a further didrachm with the name Πεισιστρατος, of which only a rubbing was seen. They differ from all other coins of Calymna in bearing a symbol and a magistrate's name. The scanty evidence to be gleaned from the find (which is collected under nos. 40 seqq.) seems to show that they follow the issue without magistrates'

²⁵ *Traité*, Pl. XXIV. 14-18; XXV. 5-17; XVIII. 18-20.

names and should be dated towards the middle of the second half of the second century B.C. The somewhat earlier appearance of these coins and of their contemporary bronze issues is perhaps due to the fact that Calymna like other of the lesser Aegean islands was something of a backwater lying off the main streams of Hellenistic movement. The appearance of a magistrate's name disposes of the question doubtfully posed by Head²⁶ whether its absence elsewhere from the coinage might be significant of dependence upon Cos. Paton and Hicks,²⁷ however, have shown good reason to suppose that Calymna was a dependency of Cos in the early third century, and this state of affairs may have lasted till well into the second century, when we must conclude from the outbreak of coinage that it came to an end. Though the didrachms without magistrates' names are not uncommon, the coinage altogether must have been quite a brief one, as it shows no development and very few dies were employed, e.g. only one obverse and two reverse dies for the seven coins already in the British Museum (*B.M.C.*, nos. 3-9). Probably most of the extant specimens come ultimately from the enormous hoard of 1823 which contained nearly 10,000²⁸ of them. The low weight of the present coins, which appears in both drachm and didrachm, suggests that they were issued after rather than before the anonymous coinage, in which the standard is as a rule well maintained. This is confirmed, as far as such evidence goes, by the relative condition of the two issues contained in the hoard which is discussed below (p.193-194).

²⁶ *B.M.C.*, *Caria*, p. lxxxviii. ²⁷ *Inscriptions of Cos*, p. 352.

²⁸ *B.M.C.*, *ibid.*, lxxxvii.

Cos.

40. *Obv.*—Head of Heracles r., bearded, in lion-skin.

Rev.—Crab; beneath, club; above, ΚΩΙΟΝ; beneath, ΑΣΤΥΝΟ//; shallow circular incuse.

AR ↑ 15.5 mm., 47.2 gr. (3.56 grm.). [Pl. XIII. 3.]

41. *Obv.*—Similar head, beardless.

Rev.—Similar type; above, ΚΩΙΟΝ; beneath, ΑΠΙΣ ΤΑΝΔΡΟΣ; to l. and r., Κ Ε; the whole in shallow square incuse.

AR ↑ 17.0 mm., 48.2 gr. (3.12 grm.). [Pl. XIII. 4.]

42. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo r., laureate, the hair knotted behind and falling in long locks over neck and shoulders.

Rev.—Lyre (cithara); on r., [Κ]ΩΙΟΝ; on l., ΑΠΙΣ ΤΑΙΟΣ; beneath, Α; trace of shallow circular incuse.

AR ↑ 14.5 mm., 20.2 gr. (1.31 grm.). [Pl. XIII. 5.]

Nos. 40-2 presented by E. S. G. Robinson.

These three coins with some others of the same mint and of Rhodes and the coins of Calymna described above (nos. 38-9) all came together from a hoard said to have been found in the island of Calymna. A selection was made from it for the British Museum and another for the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. The find consisted of silver and bronze coins chiefly of Cos, and though only a portion of it could be examined the record may be set out for what it is worth. That the bronze formed part of the find rests upon the statement of the vendor which, though his good faith was certain, was necessarily made at second hand. Such mixed hoards, however, are not unknown. A similar one from Halicarnassus was described by Paton in *Num. Chron.*, 1890, p. 279. The coins actually seen

were the following; where one has been retained in the British Museum or the Ashmolean the fact is noted.

CALYMNA. No. 38 above (and the Πεισιστρατος coin); also 4 didrachms without magistrates' names (*B.M.C., Caria*, p. 188, nos. 3 seqq.); no. 39 above.

Cos. Three silver series were represented. (1) *B.M.C., ibid.*, p. 201, nos. 76 seqq.: ΑΣΤΥΝΟ (no. 40 above) B.M., and another, ΙΩΠΥΡΙ// 45.3 gr. (2.94 grm.) B.M., ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΤΟΣ 43.0 gr. (2.81 grm.) B.M., ΚΑΛΛΙΠΙΔ// 47.2 gr. (3.06 grm.) B.M. and two others, ΠΥΘΙΩΝ 46.4 gr. (3.01 grm.) Ashmolean, ΦΙΛΙΝΟΣ four specimens, ΝΙΚΑΓΟΡ// two specimens. (2) *B.M.C., ibid.*, p. 205, nos. 117-118: ΑΡΑΤΟΣ and Κ on r. 41.2 gr. (2.67 grm.) B.M., ΑΡΙΣΤΑΙΟΣ and Κ Ε 46.7 gr. (3.03 grm.) B.M., ΑΡΙΣΤΑΝΔΡΟΣ and Κ Ε (no. 41 above) B.M. and 48.4 gr. (3.14 grm.) Ashmolean, ΠΑΤΡΟΚΛΗΣ and Δ on r. 47.1 gr. (3.05 grm.) B.M., ΠΑΤΡΟΚΛΗΣ and Δ on l. 49.1 gr. (3.18 grm.) B.M., ΑΡΧΙΑΣ and Κ Ε 48.3 gr. (3.13 grm.) Ashmolean. (3) *B.M.C., ibid.*, p. 210, nos. 165-168: ΑΡΙΣΤΑΙΟΣ and Α (no. 42 above) B.M. and four others, ΑΡΧΙΑΣ and Α 21.9 gr. (1.42 grm.) B.M., ΘΡΑΣΥΑΝΔΡ// and Α 24.2 gr. (1.57 grm.) B.M., ΠΑΤΡΟΚΛΗΣ and Α 22.3 gr. (1.45 grm.) B.M., ΠΑΤΡΟΚΛΗΣ [letter off flan] 20.3 gr. (1.32 grm.) B.M., and one other.

RHODES. *B.M.C., ibid.*, p. 244, as nos. 153 seqq. magistrate's name obliterated, in countermark, chimaera; *ibid.*, p. 248, no. 46 ΕΥΒΙΟΣ; *ibid.*, p. 257, no. 299, ΔΕΞΑΓΟΡΑΣ, one specimen each; the same types ΞΕΝΟΦΑΝΤΟΣ and star, B.M.

There should be added to the silver coins a further fifty pieces described by the vendors as drachms of Cos, so heavily oxidized as to be worthless, and therefore rejected.

The bronze coins were all of Cos—*B.M.C., ibid.*, p. 196 as nos. 27 seqq. ΠΡΑΞΙΔΔ (*sic*) B.M.; *B.M.C., ibid.*, p. 203, as no. 99, but *rev.* beneath, club in place of letter, B.M.; *ibid.*, as no. 100, *rev.* without letter, B.M.; *ibid.*, as no. 101, but ΔΑΜΩΝΟΣ, B.M.; *ibid.*, p. 203, no. 103, ΑΡΧΩΝ and crab in countermark; *ibid.*, no. 107, ΛΑΜΠΙΑΣ and crab in countermark; the same types, ΠΡΑΤΑΓΟΡΑΣ. 47 other coins said to be of the same

types, and mostly with the crab in countermark, were not seen.

As regards condition the Calymnian coins with magistrates' names showed little sign of circulation, while the others were a trifle rubbed. Among the silver coins of Cos there were some signs of wear in the first series, but those of the second and third series were practically uncirculated and some of them *fleur de coin*; the bronze were fairly uniform in showing a certain amount of wear. The earlier Rhodian coins were considerably rubbed, the two later were fine. Head (*B.M.C., s.v.*) places the first series of the Coan silver coins in the period 190-166 B.C., the second in the period 166-88 B.C., and the third series between 88 and 50, but in view of the equally fine condition of the two last and of the number of magistrates common to both (e.g. *Ἀρισταίος, Ἀρχίας, Ἀριστάνδρος*) they must have been issued contemporaneously as drachm and hemidrachm. The hemidrachm shows an Apollo head with special details exactly paralleled on the dated series of tridrachms, &c., from Alabanda which falls between the years 168-133 B.C.²⁰ It should therefore be placed nearly half a century earlier than Head's date, and should precede the series of reduced weight with Asclepian types which naturally enough does not appear to have been represented in the hoard. On these considerations the Calymna hoard would appear to have been buried shortly before 100 B.C.

LYCIA: ΤΑΤΗΘΗΥΑΙΒΙ.

48. *Obv.*—Female head l. wearing elaborate hook ear-ring and necklace, the hair arranged in three rows of tight curls, bound with a ribbon passing three times over it and turned up behind.

²⁰ *B.M.C., Caria*, p. 2, nos. 10-12.

Rev.—Owl l.; around, beginning on l. above,
 T ↑ X X E F ↑ E β E; square incuse.

AR ↓ 20.5 mm., 178.8 gr. (11.59 grm.). [Pl. XIII. 6.]

Presented by E. S. G. Robinson.

This charming stater has a new reverse type obviously copied directly from an Athenian tetradrachm struck immediately after the Persian Wars, and its date must be somewhere in the seventies of the fifth century. The same obverse die had already been used for a stater of the same dynast with the tetrasceles reverse,³⁰ and the owl appears in a tetrasceles on staters, and by itself on smaller denominations, of the later dynast Khäriga³¹ The present coin is a tribute to the radiation of Athenian influence as a result of the Persian Wars.

LYCIA: PON . . .

44. *Obv.*—Ox standing r. on beaded ground line; above,
 Γ O N; dotted circle.

Rev.—Trisceles; between the limbs, the same inscription reversed; dotted circle; circular incuse.

AR 13.0 mm., 33.8 gr. (2.19 grm.). [Pl. XIII. 8.]

The Museum already possesses a coin of similar types and weight (*B.M.C., Lycia*, p. 11, no. 52), but uninscribed and with a square incuse on the reverse (the lump above the ox's shoulder on no. 44 appears to be a die-flaw). Both coins must have been issued about the middle of the fifth century. The inscription does not occur in the exhaustive list of Lycian coin-inscriptions compiled by Babelon,³² but is presumably the initial syllable of a dynast's name.

³⁰ *B.M.C., Lycia*, p. 19, no. 89.

³¹ *Traité*, Pl. XCIX, nos. 24-27.

³² *Ibid.*, ii. 2, cols. 335 seqq.

CYPRUS: MARIUM.

45. *Obv.*—Lion r., scratching r. fore- with r. hind-leg and licking r. fore-paw; above, double-axe; in exergue, double spiral; above, from r. to l. in Cypriote characters, *to-ka-sa-to-ro*; dotted border.

Rev.—Nude male figure (Phrixus?) with ram, going l., his r. arm clasped round the ram's neck; below on l., double-axe; on l. and beneath, in Cypriote characters, *Ma-ri-e-u-se*; square incuse.

At \searrow 14.0 mm., 166.1 gr. (10.76 grm.). [Pl.

XIII. 7.]

Presented by Sir George Hill, K.C.B.

Another and much better example from the same dies, of the very rare stater published in the preceding acquisitions article (*Num. Chron.*, 1932, p. 209 seqq.), where the inscriptions have been fully discussed and the attribution to Marium established. The finer condition of the new coin shows beyond dispute the sex of the figure on the reverse, the ethnic inscription, and the second half of the inscription on the obverse. The first half, which is present on the other specimen, is here, unfortunately, practically off the flan.

CAPPADOCIA?

46. *Obv.*—Archer r. in full Persian dress, wearing cap with strings, and armlets, drawing bow.

Rev.—Ibex r.; on l., beginning above, 𐤀𐤕𐤁𐤕 ; trace of circular incuse.

Æ \uparrow 14.0 mm., 40.8 gr. (2.64 grm.).

This little coin is by no means new, and the only reason for publishing the present specimen is that the doubtful Aramaic inscription is clearer upon it than on any other specimen known to me. It has generally

been taken to read L'RYWR[T] and explained as the name of Ariarathes II with the possessive prefix attached.³³ But the one thing certain about it is that it cannot contain this name as Blau had already seen. He transliterated the word L'RYWK and explained it as the name of Ariakes who commanded the Cappadocians at the battle of Arbela.³⁴ Two things tell against his view. First, the provenance of the coins: the Museum now possesses four examples all acquired at different times and all from western Lycia or Caria. For a bronze coin this is pretty strong evidence that it was not issued far away—e.g. in Cappadocia. Second the inscription: the forms are clear on the present specimen and the most natural transliteration is L'RTGN, the first two and the last letters being certain, though the fourth letter might be Y and the fourth and the fifth letters though varying in form, might conceivably be meant for the same. With the reading suggested may be compared the later Iranian name *Aprayvñs* in the inscription of Antiochus of Commagene from Nimroud Dagħ. Whatever be the exact form, it more probably represents the name of a satrap of South-Western Asia Minor than of a Cappadocian prince.

ARMENIA: XERXES.

47. *Obv.*—Bust of Xerxes r., bearded, wearing diademed tiara; neck draped.

³³ T. Reinach, *Trois royaumes*, p. 29, with references to previous literature; accepted by Regling, *Z. f. N.*, xlii (1935), p. 1.

³⁴ *Num. Zeit.*, 1877, p. 96. The gem there referred to certainly bears this name.

Rev.—On r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ; on l., ΞΕΡΞΟΥ; Athena seated, helmeted, holding Nike on outstretched r. hand, and leaning l. on shield; behind, transverse sceptre.

Æ ↑ 18.5 mm., 70.1 gr. (4.54 grm.).

[Pl. XIII. 10.]

Presented by Dr. J. Prendergast.

48. *Obv.*—Similar.

Rev.—On r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ; on l., ΞΕΡΞΟΥ; Nike going l., holding her skirts in l. hand and a wreath in r. with which she crowns the king's name; between which and her feet, N.

Æ ↑ 15.0 mm., 30.1 gr. (1.95 grm.).

[Pl. XIII. 11.]

Anonymous gift.

A poor specimen of no. 47 (otherwise unique) was found during the French excavations at Susa, and has been already published by Colonel Allotte de la Fuÿe.³⁵ The reverse has no monogram or mint-mark, and appears to be otherwise unknown for Xerxes. It is interesting as being an early copy of the well-known type of Lysimachus, which has had so many later and more famous imitations, and confirms the evidence of hoards that these tetradrachms commonly circulated in Syria, Mesopotamia, and adjacent countries in the third and even second centuries.³⁶ No. 48 is a new denomination—the subordinate of the piece in Paris published by Babelon (*Rois de Syrie*, p. 212, no. 6) with an abbreviation of the same monogram. Curiously enough, Babelon does describe (*ibid.*, no. 7) a similar denomination with the Nike type, but it is clear from his illustration that the figure is not Nike but a standing Athena, as on another B.M. coin (*B.M.C., Cappadocia*,

³⁵ *Mem. Mission arch. . . Perse XX. Numismatique, &c.*, p. 45.

³⁶ Regling in *Z. f. N.*, xxxviii (1928), pp. 94 seq.

&c., p. 100, no. 1). Xerxes was a contemporary of Antiochus III rather than of Antiochus IV, as he is generally reckoned to be.³⁷

PHILISTO-ARABIAN.

49. *Obv.*—Male head, laureate, r., wearing ear-ring; on the cheek \square reversed; dotted circle.

Rev.—Goat kneeling r., with head turned back; above, bird flying l.; on the goat's flank, Σ ; beneath, Π ; square frame of chain pattern; square incuse.

$\overline{AR} \leftarrow 15.5$ mm., 59.8 gr. (3.87 grm.). [Pl. XIII. 13.]

50. *Obv.*—Lion l. devouring ram recumbent r., with head turned back; chain-pattern circle.

Rev.—Owl r. with olive spray on l. above; on r. downwards, $A \odot E$, between which and owl Ψ ? Ω ; square incuse.

$\overline{AR} \rightarrow 9.50$ mm., 12.3 gr. (0.80 grm.). [Pl. XIII. 12.]

No. 49 is already known from a poor specimen in Paris (*Traité*, Pl. CXXIV. 1) on which the letters engraved on the goat's body and the god's cheek are not visible. The last letter occurs again on a head of Athena copied from Athenian coins which forms the obverse type of a similar drachm also with a goat on the reverse. Both coins must belong to the same mint soon after the middle of the fifth century. The goat type leads Babelon to the by no means certain conclusion that the mint was Gaza.³⁸ An obol with the same types and the same letters on the reverse also occurred in a recent hoard from Palestine.³⁹ No. 50

³⁷ Reinach, *L'histoire par les monnaies*, p. 240 note.

³⁸ *Traité*, ii. 2, cols. 653-654.

³⁹ Lambert, *Palestine Quarterly*, ii (1932), p. 8, no. 51; here the head is described as having a palm-branch diadem, but the detail is the same as on no. 49, a clumsy laurel-wreath.

appears to be new, though again a very similar type of a lion devouring a gazelle appears on the reverse of obols from the same find.⁴⁰ The reverse legend is perhaps the same as that on yet another obol with buffalo reverse,⁴¹ though in neither example is the first letter distinct. Nos. 49 and 50 were both acquired about the time of the publication of the hoard in question, and it is more than likely that they formed part of it.

HIMYARITE.

51. *Obv.*—Within a wreath, a beardless male head r., laureate, the hair in long ringlets.

Rev.—Within a border of handleless amphorae, owl r. on amphora with handles; on l., monogram of Yanaf; on r., the curved sign and two others.

𐩦 𐩧 𐩨

N ← 24.0 mm., 82.8 gr. (5.37 grm.). [Pl. XIII. 14.]

This unique and unpublished gold coin must be the double of the (also unique) piece already in the Museum Collection (*B.M.C., Arabia, &c.*, p. 54, no. 1), although as the latter scales 38.3 gr. (2.48 grm.) the weights are not accurately adjusted. Both belong to the same period and place as the earlier silver coins of the San'a hoard, with the laureate (pre-Augustan) head and the Yanaf monogram. These fall into two main classes: an earlier class (*B.M.C., ibid.*, Pl. VIII. 2–10), with the curved sign and two others, an undeciphered Aramaic inscription, and traces of a blundered legend AΘE derived from the Athenian prototype; and a later class (*B.M.C., ibid.*, Pl. VIII. 11–IX. 11) on which various monograms replace the two signs, and the Aramaic

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, nos. 47–48.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, no. 53.

legend and the traces of AΘE have disappeared. The new gold coin, like the one already known, has no Aramaic inscription or trace of AΘE. Unlike it, it has the curved sign and the same two other signs as appear on the first class of the silver. It should therefore occupy an intermediate position between the two classes, about the middle of the first century B.C. The significance of the Yanaf (= "exalted") monogram and of the three doubtful signs are fully discussed by Hill in his introduction (*B.M.C., ibid.*, pp. l and liii-liv).

CYRENE.

52. *Obv.*—Young horseman l., wearing cloak and petasus, on prancing horse; behind, ΜΕΛΑΝΙΠΠΩ; ground line; dotted circle.

Rev.—Silphium with three pairs of leaves, terminal umbel and four axillary umbels; on l. and r., K | Y P | A N | A; dotted circle.

AV ↑ 15.0 mm., 66.1 gr. (4.28 grm.). Glendinning 13: xi: 1933, lot 305, J. E. Meade Collection. [Pl. XIII. 15.]

This drachm, though it comes from an old collection, was not known when the Catalogue of Cyrenaica was published. The name Melanippus (in the Doric genitive as is usual) is new to Cyrenaic numismatics. The reverse type is closest in treatment to the drachms with the name of Cydis (*B.M.C., Cyrenaica*, Pl. XIV. 21-22) and should therefore be dated about 325 B.C.

E. S. G. ROBINSON.

In the passage of *V. C. H. Cornwall* already cited, Haverfield shows that, in his opinion, the Truro *minimi* formed a small part of the main Hayle hoard, and indeed it can scarcely be otherwise; the coins all come from Hayle, and one packet is dated to 1825—the year of the discovery of the hoard. Even more conclusive is the similarity of fabric between the *minimi* of Truro and those of Penzance, combined with the fact that they embrace the same range of types. It is therefore assumed that the 41 coins at Truro⁵ are part of the main hoard; these, with the Penzance *minimi*, make up material to the number of 161 coins.

There are also at Penzance two coins, both official issues of Victorinus (Mattingly and Sydenham, *R.I.C.*, V, ii, by Percy H. Webb, nos. 61 (c) [-ENTIA] and 114 (c)), which bear patination very similar to that of the Hayle *minimi*, but they cannot with any certainty be connected with the hoard.

The most obvious characteristic of these *minimi* is their extreme barbarity, both of type and fabric.⁶ An attempt has been made to allocate as many as possible of the reverse types to their prototypes; the crudeness of the types themselves and the poor condition of many of the coins render the attribution in certain cases a matter of some conjecture, but the following list, with this proviso, gives a fairly accurate idea of the choice of types:

⁵ Since Haverfield compiled his notes, two of the Truro coins have gone astray, as a memorandum by Mr. Penrose, dated 27 March 1905, testifies.

⁶ It should be noted in passing that the coins all appear to have been *struck* and not, as Carne (*loc. cit.*) asserts, cast.

Invictus	12	Uncertain standing figure	24
Virtus: to l.	2	Altar (Consecratio)	6
„ to r.	3	Pietas Augustor	13
Fortuna Redux	4	Dismembered types	2
Hilaritas	4	Two radiate obverses	2
Laetitia	2	Non-Roman type	1
Pax	34	Uncertain and illegible	42
Pietas Aug.	1	Total	161
Salus	1		
Spes	8		

The designs are, on the whole, very inferior imitations of the prototypes; in no case can there be found what might be described as a first-class copy, and second-class copies are rare. The degree of competence is, at its highest, that at which the attributes of the prototypes have a precarious hold on the die-engravers' attention; at its lowest, it allows the attributes to be dispensed with, and the main figure or part of the design to develop into something far removed from the original. Many of the types have suffered a reversal; this is especially the case with *Invictus* and *Pax*. As might be expected, the types which show examples of the most advanced degradation are those which are most copied; here again *Invictus*, which is sometimes whittled down to an almost linear design, and *Pax*, frequently recognizable only by the bare presence of spear, dress, and arm, suffer chiefly. *Spes* also is quickly debased, most noticeably into a fiddle-shaped design derived from the flowing curves of her tunic. The *Altar* of the commemorative "Consecratio" type of Claudius Gothicus is a meagre square, chiefly in single outline, though once a double outline, combined with much vigorous cross-hatching, produces a novel version of it. The *Pietas Augustor* type of

sacrificial implements is twice found with a mint-mark

$\left(\frac{1}{\text{III}}, \frac{1}{\text{IIII}}\right)$ —an uncommon and curious feature; the

actual varieties of this type all fall within the limits of the two main classes noticeable in the Whitchurch hoard,⁷ seven being of class (A) and six of class (B). The one type catalogued as non-Roman shows a figure to the r., holding high in its l. hand some circular object; this might be attributed to one or other of various prototypes, but it has all the atmosphere of native inspiration.

The relative distribution of types in the Hayle and Whitchurch hoards provides an interesting comparison. At Hayle there is a great preponderance of animate types (83 per cent.) over inanimate (17 per cent.); at Whitchurch, the animate types comprise only 52 per cent. as against the 48 per cent. of the inanimate. For this difference the striking predilection of the Whitchurch die-engravers for the *Pietas Augustor.* type is mainly responsible; as against the 114 coins of this type at Whitchurch, Hayle can show only 13. Among the other types, *Invictus* is considerably commoner at Hayle than at Whitchurch; the Eagle of Claudius Gothicus' "Consecratio" issue is, however, totally absent from Hayle. *Spes* on a small scale, and *Pax* on a very large scale are represented in about equal proportions; the latter type appears invariably to have been widely imitated—a fact which represents the great number of coins of this type originally issued by official mints. Two examples of *Pax* in the present hoard,⁸ both fresh and unworn, are from the

⁷ Cf. *Num. Chron.* 1934, pp. 99 ff., and 1935, pp. 16 ff.

⁸ From the Chilcott group at Truro.

same pair of dies; the type is much debased, and in a reversed position. There seems to be no other case of die-identity in the Hayle hoard, still less any such series as that which occurs in the Whitchurch hoard. Nevertheless, the Hayle hoard in its entirety may well have included such a series; the copper bowl is large enough to have contained many thousands of *minimi*, and those now under examination form only a small portion of the whole.

The standard of skill displayed in executing the designs on the obverses and the reverses is almost equal, with a slight inclination in favour of the obverse types. By this it is not implied that good recognizable portraits are generally found; there are scarcely any such, most of the types being stereotyped versions of a crowned and bearded head. Occasionally the remnants of a legend testify to the emperor who supplied the prototype; Victorinus and Tetricus alone are thus commemorated. For the most part the legends, when present at all, are barbarous. There is one doubtful case of accuracy in both obverse and reverse legends, and on two other coins with barbarous reverse legends the obverse legend is conceivably correct; otherwise there are some 21 coins which bear barbarous legends on both obverse and reverse, 24 which show an obverse legend only, and that barbarous, and 11 which show a reverse legend only, and that barbarous. Nearly 90 coins are innocent of any legend whatsoever, whether obverse or reverse.

An equally low standard of skill is evident in the character of the flans themselves. The great majority of them appear to have been produced by the process of clipping from thin sheet-metal; there are 112

examples of these clipped flans, all irregular in shape, and many of them with edges still comparatively sharp. In 29 cases the flan, however it was produced originally, is jagged and irregular. There are 5 flans which appear to have been chopped from a circular metal rod; they are, like the examples of this technique in the Lydney hoard of *minimi*,⁹ all of distinctly smaller module, having a diameter of only 6-8 mm. In not more than 15 cases can the flan be said to be regular in shape. Occasional examples of quartered Æ3 flans are noticeable. In size, the Hayle *minimi* average about 11.5 mm.

This hoard is a valuable addition to our knowledge, now steadily growing, of the minim coinage in Britain. It is here described merely in order that its details may be on record. More or less accurate accounts have been published of between fifteen and twenty hoards in which radiate *minimi* occur; in addition, there are descriptions, all recent, of the much rarer hoards of diademed *minimi*. The writer hopes to be able to summarize elsewhere¹⁰ the known evidence bearing on the British minim coinage, and further comment on the Hayle hoard is therefore best deferred until it can be studied in its relation to the whole body of the evidence. It may, however, be said that the general reasons proposed for the late dating of the Whitchurch hoard seem not inapplicable to the Hayle hoard also.

Of the copper vessel little can be said. No known analogies seem to exist for it, and we should possibly

⁹ Cf. *Soc. Antig. Report*, 1932, pp. 116 ff.

¹⁰ In a paper read at the International Numismatic Congress, 1936.

be correct if we pronounced it to be a product of local Cornish workmanship. Cornwall contains a considerable amount of copper, and this metal (according to Mr. J. E. Hooper) has at times been mined as extensively as tin.¹¹ The burial of the hoard served at the same time for the safe-keeping of the bowl, which perhaps represented a monetary value second only to that of the coins themselves.

C. H. V. SUTHERLAND

¹¹ In this connexion it is worth while to mention the Perren-worth hoard of radiate *minimi*. These coins, which were small, and very barbarous in character, were found (to the number of about sixty) deep in an ancient copper mine situated in the bed of a creek in Falmouth Harbour: see *Proc. of the Num. Soc.*, 1851-52, pp. 12-13.

IX.

NEW LIGHT ON THOMAS SIMON.

WHEN last I had the pleasure of reading before the Royal Numismatic Society a paper concerning Thomas Simon,¹ I had thought it would be my swan-song. But just as that article was prompted by the generous loan on the part of Dr. F. William Cock of copies he made for me from a contemporary Minute Book of Charles II's Privy Council,² so has my paper in its turn attracted the attention of Mr. Charles Anthony, F.R.S.E., who has kindly placed Simon's pedigree at my disposal.

I need hardly say that I gladly accepted the offer of my courteous and learned colleague in research, the more readily in that he thereby enables me to correct some suggestions I had tentatively hazarded, which in the absence of proof to the contrary I had based on technical reasons.

Amongst Mr. Anthony's discoveries the most important are the entries concerning the baptisms of Thomas Simon and three out of six of his brothers, establishing his place in the family and his birth in London, a subject of King James I.

We are also especially glad to corroborate the fact that his mother, although a Guernsey woman of one of the best known families in the Island, was married

¹ *Thomas Simon*, "One of Our Chief Gravers", published in the *Num. Chron.*, Fifth Series, vol. xii, pp. 274-310 in 1932.

² Sir Edward Nicholas' MS. Minute Book. Entries extending from the Autumn of 1661 to April 1662.

at the French Church in Threadneedle Street. His father was a native of London, born in Blackfriars, and "trading beyond the seas", perhaps with the Channel Islands, whilst Anne Germain had a half-sister married to a London man, one Richard Brooke.³

The records of the marriage and baptisms of the Simon family were copied by Mr. Anthony from the registers of the French Church in Threadneedle Street, frequented by the Protestant refugees from the Netherlands and from France since the days of Elizabeth.

This church was commonly known as the French or Walloon Church, and Thomas Simon in the codicil of his last Will and Testament declared himself a member thereof, but he made a larger bequest to the poor of his parish of St. Clement Danes, where he owned a private grave, and desired that his burial should be there, two of his children being already interred under a stone in the church.

George Vertue, the principal biographer of Thomas Simon, whilst repeating a number of traditions concerning the artist's history, did not hazard in print any certain information with regard to the ages of Abraham and Thomas, but repeated on hearsay that Abraham, the elder of the two, was born in 1622 and Thomas in 1623.⁴ Mr. Warwick Wroth in his

³ Gilles Germain, the father of Anne, Peter Simon's wife, was married three times: Anne and her sister Marie, who became the wife of Pierre Carey of an eminent family in Guernsey, were the daughters by Gilles's third wife, Anne le Moyne of Vitre. Gilles's second wife, Rachel le Marchant, was the mother of a daughter Rachel who married Richard Brooke.

⁴ See Vertue's manuscript note-books, Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 23070, p. 58 b. By the help of his large collection of notes, George

invaluable articles in the *Dictionary of National Biography* follows this clue, but with a query, being no doubt struck, as I was, by the startling precocity these dates demanded. Dissatisfied, therefore, for technical reasons with the guess-work of Vertue, who was apt to jot down any gossip in his notes, I rashly and erroneously suggested that Thomas might be one of the elder members of Peter Simon's large family, and that his birth might have occurred within a few years of the known date of the marriage. I based my doubts on the early production by Thomas Simon of seals and medals, some of them signed pieces from 1637, possibly even 1635, onward, which could scarcely be the work of a lad born in 1623; but of this more anon. We now learn from Mr. Anthony that Abraham was baptized in April 1617, and Thomas just a year later in 1618.⁵

I have already mentioned the Will of Thomas Simon wherein he describes himself as "Citizen and Goldsmith of London", a document signed on 17 June 1665, written on seven sheets of paper, with a holograph codicil added on June 25. It was proved at the Consistory Court of Canterbury, Simon's landed property being situated in the County of Kent.

The original was copied and published in full by

Vertue published in November 1753, his *Medals, Coins, Great Seals, &c. of Thomas Simon*. A second edition was published in 1780 with notes and a valuable Appendix by Richard Gough. The manuscripts are now under revision and publication by the Walpole Society, and the above may be found pp. 66-67, vol. xxi, Walpole Society, printed as "Vertue II".

⁵ We may fairly assume from the yearly sequences of the baptisms that the children were christened shortly after their birth, the usual custom then, so that the baptisms give us approximately the date of birth.

Mr. Clement Smythe in 1842 in the *Numismatic Chronicle*,⁶ and from the sequence of the legacies he compiled a pedigree. But naturally he could neither supply the dates, nor the large amount of additional information that Mr. Anthony's systematic research has placed at our disposal. By the latter's permission we are now publishing this fresh pedigree, he having carefully examined the original documents.

Mr. Anthony, moreover, has called my attention to several points of interest in this Will, especially to the similarity of disposal in thirds, said by Simon to be "according to the laudable Custom of ye City of London", a legal division still in force in Guernsey at the present day, namely, one part to the widow, one to the children, and the third portion bequeathed at the desire of the testator. Although Thomas seemed to aim at primogeniture, as regarded his landed property, the fact that his elder brothers were either childless or had only daughters made his preference for heirs male an additional difficulty when working out the pedigree, until Mr. Anthony's research placed definite information before us.

May I be permitted at the risk of repetition a short explanation of our artist's family, commencing with the parents of Thomas Simon? Let us begin with Anne Germain, one of the younger daughters of Gilles Germain of Guernsey by his third wife, a member of a distinguished family related to the best known people in the Island. She was married in the French Church in Threadneedle Street on 12 September 1611 to Peter Simon. Peter was the "sonne of Peter Simon,

⁶ *Num. Chron.*, First Series, vol. v, pp. 161-172.

b.[orn] in Roan, under F.K.", i.e. under the French King. But Peter the son, namely, the father of our Thomas, was born at Blackfriars and in the year of our artist's christening 1618 was entered in a list of persons residing in Walbrook Ward as "trading beyond the seas".⁷ He seems, moreover, to have been of fixed abode in this part of London, for Thomas in his articles of apprenticeship in 1635, enters himself as "son of Peter Symon Walbrook London Merchant", and we notice from the baptisms of Thomas's elder brothers in 1616 and 1617 respectively, apart from the register of marriage in Threadneedle Street, suggestion of long continued residence in the city of London.

There were seven sons born of this marriage and one daughter, but Mr. Anthony has examined the registers of the French Church in Threadneedle Street from their inception to the date of Thomas's death in 1665 inclusive, and finds that not all the baptisms of the Simon family are chronicled there, only the marriage in 1611 and the christening of four of the children, of whom Thomas is one. He has likewise searched the registers of the French Church in Canterbury from

⁷ Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, James I, 1611-1618, vol. 102, p. 38. "Certificate of the names of the Straungers residing and dwelling within the City of London and the liberties together with the places of their birthe and under the soveraignty of what prince they depend" Appendix of Wm. Durrant Cooper's Lists of Foreign Protestants and Aliens Resident in England, 1618-1688, Camden Society, vol. lxxxii, p. 88. This and other lists of Refugee traders and their children were drawn up because the "Straungers" were said by the London merchants to spoil their trade by underselling them. Under Charles II and James II we find bills drawn for facilitating the naturalization of many foreign Protestants owing to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 greatly contributing to the establishment of fresh trades in the country.

1590 to 1665 without finding any further records of the Simon family. The Testament of which I have just spoken, drawn by him in 1665, has enabled my colleague to fill in the gaps.

The list of the children then, as shown in the pedigree, begins with Peter, and most probably Hannah should find her place there. Which was the elder we cannot say. Hannah was twice married, firstly to one Yates and secondly to one Massey, the latter name being well known in the Island of Guernsey. Both Peter and Hannah appear as legatees under the will, but no mention is made of progeny. The date of her birth is unknown and that of Peter is uncertain; it seems, however, probable that these two were the first born,⁸ as they do not appear in the register in Threadneedle Street and a considerable time elapses between the marriage in 1611 and the first entry of baptism, that of the second son, William, who was christened on 21 January 1616, new style.

William probably predeceased our artist, for no mention of him is made in his brother's Will, but his younger brother, Nathaniel, called his son after him.

We next come to Abraham, who survived until 1692, a celebrated artist and an eccentric character. He was baptized on 27 April 1617 and might possibly be a certain Abraham Semon (*sic*) born in London, a subject of King James, mentioned in the list of "Straungers in London in 1618", but it seems more likely that this, if a Simon at all, was an uncle, as his address is in Bishop's Gate, not Walbrook Ward. Abraham was the collaborator of Thomas, and although

⁸ In drawing his Will, Thomas appears to give priority to Peter and Hannah in the management of his affairs.

he never attained the technical proficiency of the younger brother, he was less meticulous, more of an artist, less of a craftsman and more successful in portraiture. He was renowned for his talent of secretly and hastily modelling a sketch on a piece of glass spread with a layer of wax which he carried in his pocket. These sketches, sometimes verging on caricature, frequently served Thomas afterwards in the reproduction of a modified but speaking likeness in personal medals, usually cast in silver. Abraham was a man of curious appearance, and it is probable that a description erroneously given as of Thomas as "an old man leaning on a long staff in a long coat and a long beard" applied to the elder brother.⁹ But we must not be beguiled into further anecdotes about Abraham, unless it be to correct such a mistake as the above which might mislead the unwary as to dates. The name of Abraham's wife is not known. He left two daughters, Anne and Judith, remembered by Thomas in his Will.

Let us return to the Pedigree which now chronicles the baptism of Thomas on 26 April 1618. Unfortunately, however, although Mr. Anthony has given us the year of Thomas Simon's birth, and has supplied us with details concerning his wife's history, and although the fact of the marriage is absolutely established,

⁹ Nichols in his *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. ix, p. 340, assumes a wrong date of death for Thomas Simon from information given him by a son of John Gosling, Minor Canon of Canterbury. He describes Simon as a friend of the old Canon in or after the year 1674, whereas Thomas as we know died in 1665. The description obviously applied to Abraham, especially the long beard concerning which many stories are told by Vertue and others. Abraham's self portrait in oils is in the National Portrait Gallery, No. 1642.

he has not so far been able to discover where the wedding was solemnized. My collaborator has searched for Thomas's marriage in the registers at Threadneedle Street, and tells me he has also examined those of the French Church at Canterbury from 1590 onwards, without, however, any success, and the marriage registers of the Town Church, St. Peter's, at St. Peter Port in Guernsey are missing for the period when the marriage was probably solemnized. Considering that Mrs. Thomas Simon was an heiress, and came of a family of importance in the Channel Islands, it seems probable that the marriage was celebrated there.

Elizabeth, daughter and sole heiress of Cardin Fautrart of Guernsey, the wife whom Thomas constituted his executrix and sole guardian of his children, three of whom survived him, was a woman of property, and lawsuits concerning her inheritance caused our artist to visit the Channel Islands several times, as Mr. Anthony tells me, between the years 1653 and 1657 and at subsequent periods. He suggests, therefore, that the marriage was before the year 1653, but probably not earlier than 1642 when Simon's apprenticeship terminated and he was able to hold salaried offices at the Mint.

Elizabeth bore Thomas three boys, two of whom predeceased him, and two daughters, one of whom according to Mr. Richard Gough died without attaining her majority, whilst the other married "a Mr. Hibbert of London".¹⁰ The surviving boy, Samuel, was

¹⁰ Vertue's *Medals of Thomas Simon*, second edition, 1780, p. 54 A. Gough writes that Mrs. Hibbert had a daughter who married Samuel Barker of Fairford, Gloucestershire, of which county he was High Sheriff in 1691.

at the time of his father's death an infant in the eyes of the law and too young for any certainty on the part of Thomas that he would inherit the talent as well as the property of the family. He was probably called Samuel after his uncle Samuel, the fifth son of Peter Simon, who was baptized at Threadneedle Street on 27 May 1619, and apparently predeceased Thomas, for we hear no more of him.

The sixth son Nathaniel is of greater interest to us, for although we do not know the date of his birth or marriage, he left a son William, whom Thomas made second heir to his tools and puncheons should young Samuel not adopt the profession of engraver. The legacy was contingent upon William, like Samuel apparently still a minor, fulfilling the terms of his apprenticeship. But although Vertue repeats on hearsay a story that Mrs. Simon some ten years after her husband's death informed a certain "Mr. Marlow a Jeweller of Lombard Street"¹¹ that Samuel was too delicate to follow his father's profession and she should make other provision for him, I learn by the courtesy of M. Jean Babelon that Samuel is said to have become a Jeweller and to have left descendants, Meyer, and Jean Henri Simon, who in comparatively recent times, revived the traditions of the family and attained eminence as gem-engravers in Brussels and Paris.¹²

¹¹ Vertue's MS., Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 23070, p. 78 b. Walpole Society, Vertue II, p. 90. Mr. Marlow told Vertue he had the puncheon of "Thomas Simon, his own head cut by himself and another of his brother Abraham before he wore his beard".

¹² See L. Forrer's *Dictionary of Medallists* and *La Gravure en Pierres fines*, par Ernest Babelon, and additional information kindly supplied by M. Jean Babelon.

The seventh son of Peter and Anne Simon, Laurence, with whom we are already familiar as a thorn in the side of his brother Thomas, was yet obviously beloved of our artist, who in a codicil, added to his Will a few days after its signature, directed that the ten pounds



The Diaconal Seal of Guernsey, 1662.

he had left him "to help him to pay his debts" should have priority over other bequests so soon as the first instalment of a Treasury order, £1,000 of the £3,000 owing to the testator, should fall due. Mr. Anthony has kindly sent me a note under date 5 August 1681, of money still remitted to Laurence in Guernsey through the hands of his de Beauvoir cousins, received from one "Mr. Hibert de Londres" perhaps the husband of Thomas Simon's daughter. We might suggest that Laurence had taken refuge in Guernsey to avoid his creditors, although we know that he was working under Thomas in London as late as 1660 or 1661, for

the latter mentions in his claims against the Treasury that Laurence with three other workmen had assisted him in making piles and tressels for the first hammered coinage of Charles II, saying he had paid £30 to his "brother Laurence, that deserved least of me".

But we would gladly know whether Laurence was in Guernsey in 1662 and could perhaps have been wholly or partly the maker of the Diaconal Seal of the Island, a curiously uneven performance, which by the kindness of Mr. Anthony I am able to illustrate.

The seal is engraved on a flat circular flan of silver, and Mr. Anthony writes: "The back and edge are perfectly smooth and there is nothing to indicate who was the engraver." The seated figure reminds us in its minute portraiture of Thomas Simon's masterpiece the Coronation Medal.¹³ Although therein the King is seated to left, whilst on the Diaconal Seal he is affronté, as on the English Great Seal,¹⁴ and on the Privy Council Seal, made by Simon in June 1663, under warrant of December 1662, as regards the Great Seal, whilst the Privy Council Seal is of 1661.¹⁵ The Diaconal Seal bears date 1662, and would have been executed on the order of the Dean and paid for by local authorities and not supplied by the Treasury in London. It should therefore naturally not be found in Simon's accounts rendered to Charles II's ministers.

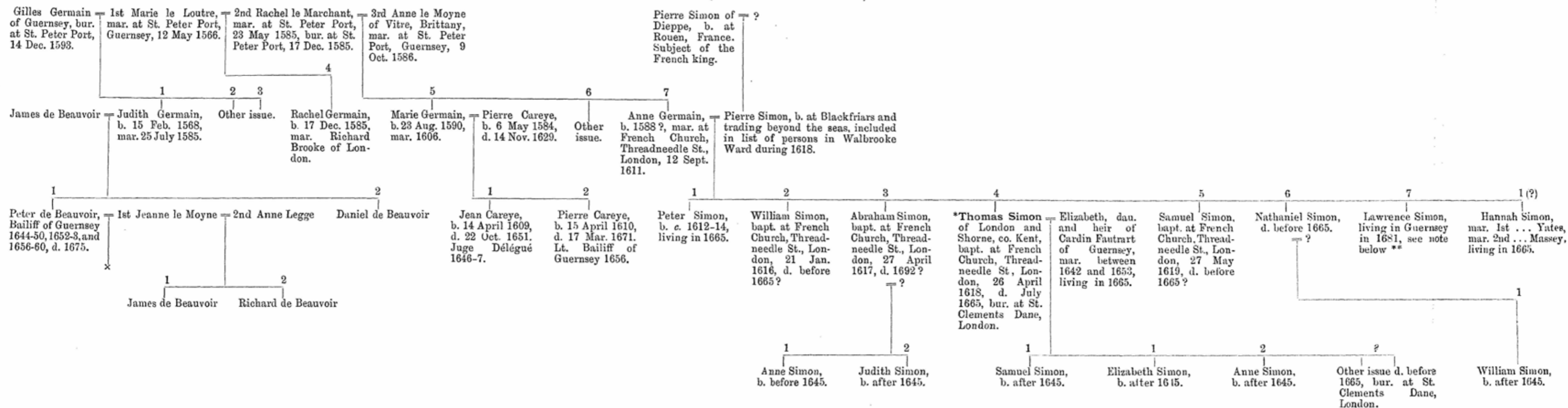
Peter de Beauvoir, Simon's cousin, a Parliamentarian, was no longer Bailiff, having been superseded by

¹³ *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 472, no. 76.

¹⁴ Wyon's *Great Seals*, p. 105 and Pl. XXXVII, and Vertue, Pl. XXXIXa, p. 68*, second edition. This is Charles II's third Great Seal, but the first made for him by Simon.

¹⁵ Vertue, Pl. XXX, p. 51.

PEDIGREE OF THOMAS SIMON, CHIEF GRAVER TO THE MINT
(By MR. CHARLES ANTHONY).



* Will of Thomas Simon, on seven sheets, dated 17 June 1665, with holograph codicil on one sheet, dated 25 June 1665, proved 23 August 1665, by his widow Elizabeth, in the Consistory Court of Canterbury.

** Extract from a book of accounts between James de Beauvoir and his brother Richard de Beauvoir: "5 Aout, Payée au cousin Laurens Simon, suivante la lettre de ma sœur, neuf lib: dix chelings sterling, qui fait, argent de France 123 lb: 10s. La quelle somme, avec le 60 lb: payée aut dit Simon le 26^e 8^{bre} dernier, cinq en outre, et pour entier payment du lois deu par M^r Hibert de Londres au dit Simon jusqu a 15 Juillet 1681 selon la dite lettre que fait quatorze lib: dix chelings."

the Royalist Amias Andros in 1660, but de Beauvoir still had much personal influence in the Island. The church depicted on the left is I understand a fair, but not quite accurate, presentment of St. Peter's at Peter Port, and it is not artistically rendered. Is it too hazardous to suggest that Thomas sent the puncheon portraying the King to Guernsey, and Laurence contributed the representation of the church, making a design symbolical of joint government¹⁶ by Church and State?

But to return to articles mentioned in Simon's official accounts. We learn much from them concerning the working of the Mint.¹⁷ His charge of £40 for one of his large seals in December 1664 is justified by him therein, Thomas claiming that he had delivered to Secretary Bennet, later Lord Arlington, "a very large seal for letters of State, of the same size as I had made for his Majestie's Father of blessed memory when a servant". This entry proves not only that Simon was allowed to make official seals before he was out of his apprenticeship, but also that he was working under Edward Greene, for he adds a note "of the articles above, the larger mentioned my master Green had 42^{li} allowed him". I had naturally assumed therefore that

¹⁶ Guernsey has her own government and laws. The church had for a short time in the reign of John been in the diocese of Exeter and once in the reign of Henry II in the diocese of Salisbury. At all other times it had been in the diocese of Coutances excepting for a short period under Richard II when it was transferred to the Bishop of Nantes. In the reign of Elizabeth Guernsey became Protestant, and after some controversy the Queen transferred it to the diocese of Winchester. See *Guernsey Present and Past*, by Ralph Durant, pp. 96-97.

¹⁷ Gough's edition of Vertue's Simon, Appendix V, p. 94.

Simon was apprenticed to Greene, as he was obviously working at the Tower at an early age, when his name does not appear as Under-Graver in the Declared Accounts. But a recent and very interesting article in *Apollo*,¹⁸ from the pen of Mr. E. Alfred Jones actually gives us the documentary evidence we lacked, as to the terms and date of the apprenticeship. By a misreading, however, of the master's name, owing to an accidental mark in the line above the letter G, the name of Greene was wrongly read as Freene, the G being taken for an F. I carried my doubts to my friend Captain J. Spink, M.C., a Liveryman of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths, and he very kindly looked up the entry in the Records for me and explained how the error must have occurred. By the wish of Mr. Jones, I now give the correct reading of the memorandum: "September 25, 1635, I Thomas Symons son of Peter Symons, Walbrook, London Merchant, put myself apprentice to Edward Greene Citizen and Goldsmith for the term of seven years to begin at Michaelmas next coming." This would carry us to 29 September 1642.

The Mint was seized by the Parliament 10 August, as we see in the *Commons Journals*.¹⁹ Here then we find Simon coming out of his apprenticeship just seven weeks after the Tower had passed out of the possession of Charles I, without official status, but working as the subordinate of Greene, who does not appear to have made himself conspicuous on the King's side, as did Parkhurst and Briot, who endeavoured, the latter

¹⁸ *Apollo*, vol. xxi, January, 1935, p. 48.

¹⁹ *Commons Journals*, vol. ii, pp. 712-713.

secretly it is true, to supply Charles with dies. Parkhurst declared himself openly for the King and shortly went to his assistance.

But Thomas Simon was a Puritan, and can we wonder that when called upon by the Parliament in 1643 to replace the Great Seal of Charles I which the Lord Keeper Littleton had in 1642 carried to the King at York, he grasped the opportunity of preferment and declared himself on the side of his new masters.

The more readily did Simon accept the positions thus open to him, because he knew that the King's men, Briot and later Rawlins, would be entitled to promotion before him should there be a Restoration. Briot died in 1646, but naturally Rawlins, who loyally served Charles I during the Civil War, must come before Simon. Meanwhile, Oliver Cromwell was a keen admirer of our artist and willing to push his interests, and Thomas entered the service of the Parliament.

This is not the place to discuss his manifold duties under the Commonwealth, for Mr. Henfrey in his *Cromwelliana*²⁰ has described that service, leaving however the doubt as to whether Thomas ever received the balance of some £700 or £800 still owing to him when the Restoration brought back the Stuarts.

The service of the Commonwealth was not more remunerative than that of the Crown, and Thomas had the same difficulty in obtaining payment, as he subsequently had from Charles II's Treasury with the added objection that after the Restoration he could not pursue his claims to the balance of the account sent to Cromwell's Treasury in 1657, when he said that

²⁰ Henfrey's *Cromwelliana*, pp. 218-219.

the interest he had "to pay for gold and silver eats up my profits".

The accounts, had he produced them, would probably have been of an incriminating nature in the eyes of Charles's Treasury, for he had committed several definite acts of treason in making various Great Seals²¹ for the Parliament, and his fine private coinage for Oliver Cromwell was no small sin. But when asking a general pardon of Charles II on the Restoration he was able to put forward proof, as we have seen, that he had worked at the Mint for many years for the young King's Father.

Hence it is important to have, as we now have, evidence that he was born in London, as his father had been, under James I. We have his pedigree, the approximate date of his birth, the articles of his apprenticeship as the son of a London Merchant, working in the Mint from the year 1635, and his nationality was one of the passionate claims to consideration which he put on record on his Petition Crown.

Since he was working at the Tower under Greene as early as 1635, we may admit that the beautiful little silver seal made for the Privy Council, certainly not later than 1637, may be as early as 1635 as is suggested by Mr. Nightingale when illustrating it in our *Chronicle* many years ago.²²

²¹ Wyon's *Great Seals*, Pl. XXIX, bearing the King's effigy in 1643. Plates XXX and XXXI, Seals of the Parliament with House in session 1649 and 1651. Plates XXXII and XXXIII with equestrian figure of Oliver Cromwell; also Pl. XXXIV, Richard Cromwell.

²² Mr. Nightingale in *Num. Chron.*, vol. iv, First Series, p. 211, illustrated the seal as having been acquired from a descendant of John Evelyn to whom it was given by Secretary Nicholas, who

We learn without surprise that Simon engraved an important official Admiralty seal for Algernon Percy, 10th Earl of Northumberland as Lord High Admiral²³ in 1638. It was, moreover, natural that Thomas Simon in 1639 should be permitted to make signed copies of the highly finished Scottish Rebellion Medals after Briot under whose tuition he is said to have worked and studied striking within a collar.²⁴ Simon was also justified in claiming certain little badges with portraits of Charles I and Henrietta Maria of an early type, showing forth the fashions before the outbreak of hostilities and no doubt made as "pièces de plaisir" whilst the Tower Mint was still in the King's hands.²⁵

was Clerk of the Council from 1635, becoming principal Secretary of State to Charles I in 1641. Bernard Nightingale wrote that he had seen an impression on a document of 27 March 1637. The seal therefore must have been originally ordered between 1635 and 1637. Similar seals but with a different legend were made by Simon for Charles II, but in steel, not silver, and it was directed that the seals should be charged to Nicholas's and Arlington's accounts.

²³ Vertue says "about 1636", but Northumberland, although Admiral of the Fleet both in 1636 and 1637, was not Lord High Admiral until 30 March 1638 (*Medals of Thomas Simon*, 2nd ed., pp. 1, 2, and 60).

²⁴ The Scottish Rebellion Medals (*Med. Ill.*, vol. i, pp. 282-283, nos. 90-94) are either unsigned but bear the stops of anemone shape generally used by Briot, or the signature S or T.S for Thomas Simon.—Nos. 90, 92, and sometimes 93 are unsigned, and I believe them to be the work of Briot. Nos. 91, 94, and usually 93, are signed S or T.S and seem to be copies by Thomas Simon or varieties by the younger artist. The design survived in the Truro half-crown, dated 1642, again used undated, and in 1644. This and similar puncheons for half-crowns portraying such galloping horses seem to be the work of Briot, secretly sent for the king's assistance to the Exeter mint.

²⁵ *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 358, no. 226 (Henrietta Maria) and p. 363, no. 241 of King Charles, exist in lead trial pieces in my collection.

Other dated specimens of the artist's work, prior to the Restoration, have been generously placed at my disposal by Mr. Anthony and his friends in Guernsey.



Seal of Peter Carey
by Thomas Simon.

A beautiful little seal bearing Simon's initials, portraying Peter Carey, is the property of Mr. Victor Gasselin Carey, the present Bailiff of the Island, and he has been so good as to give Mr. Anthony an impression of this gem for illustration.

Peter Carey was born in 1610, and survived until 1671. He was a man of historical fame and, appointed as one of the Parliamentary Commissioners, he was imprisoned by the King's Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Peter Osborne, who as a Royalist most bravely held Castle Cornet, sustaining a notable siege in the Civil War.²⁶ Carey and two of his fellow prisoners, Peter

The uniface example of no. 226 is inscribed fully 'T. Simon sculpsit'; whilst the silver head of Charles I on a circular flan of better workmanship is signed T.S.Fi. Many different reverses, some unsigned, are of poor finish.

²⁶ The Channel Islands owe allegiance to the English Crown because they are the only part of the Dukedom of Normandy which John King of England did not lose, and the King is represented by a Lieutenant-Governor who has an official position, but the legislative power is in the hands of the States. Guernsey has enjoyed her liberty since the time of John, confirmed by charter under Richard II and Edwards I and III, and the connexion with Normandy survives in the use of the French language in legal affairs to this day. The Island retains her own form of government and the privilege of making her own laws, although the King is represented by a Lieutenant-Governor. We find the Channel Islands playing a considerable part in the Civil War, Jersey entertaining Prince Charles in his exile. But in Guernsey there

de Beauvoir and James de Haviland, effected a sensational escape on Sunday, 3 December 1643 on the eve of their threatened execution, they having been condemned to death by Osborne as rebels against the King. Carey was first cousin to Thomas Simon, their respective mothers Marie and Anne Germain being the daughters of Gilles Germain.

The enlargement of the seal impression has been compared by Mr. Anthony with other portraits of Carey. A wax medallion dated 1644 from the hand of Abraham Simon is now unfortunately broken beyond repair, but of this wax the memory is still preserved by a photograph taken before the accident, a copy of which has been most kindly supplied by Major S. Carey Curtis. Also, Mr. Anthony has compared the enlarged photograph of the seal with an oil painting by Janssens in the possession of Mr. James F. Carey, Jurat for Marriennes Forest, Guernsey, and by means of these undoubted originals has been enabled to name a silver uniface medallion in the British Museum,²⁷ which, although accepted as the work of Abraham Simon, had been hitherto unidentified, but is now recognized as Peter Carey *circa* 1647. It seems probable that Abraham made more than one wax sketch of his cousin and that one such served him, or his

was a strong party for the Parliament. Guernsey is governed by a Bailiff and Jurats, and the law is administered in the Royal Court by these officials with the assistance of two Crown Officers, the Procureur du Roi and the Comptroller du Roi. The Bailiff presides in the Royal Court and in the States, but the Lieutenant-Governor, although he has not the power of veto, represents the Royal authority by the King's Appointment. (*Guernsey Present and Past* by Ralph Durant.)

²⁷ *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 332, no. 175, and in the illustrated second edition it is figured on Pl. XXIX. 7.

brother Thomas, to make the silver medallion, following their frequent habits of collaboration, and that Thomas also cast the seal from it.

I have now the privilege by the gracious permission of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey, kindly procured for me by Mr. Laurence Tanner, F.S.A., of illustrating the wax impression of another seal by



Med. Ill., vol. i, p. 332,
no. 175.



Enlargement of Seal of
Peter Carey.

Thomas Simon hitherto unpublished. The seal was made by him for the Governors of the School and Almshouses of Westminster as is evidenced by a warrant drawn for payment under date 11 February 1649/50.²³ The warrant runs thus: "To John Squibb and Arthur Squill, College Receivers of Rents to pay to Thomas Symon Goldsmith £25, for the new seal for the said School and Almshouses", and is signed Jo[hn] Fields. The impression here shown is attached to a document appointing one Mr. John Lyle, Maltster of Newbury, Berks., to be Bailiff and Collector of Rents

²³ Westminster Abbey Muniments, 43166.

in a certain district at a salary of one shilling in the pound collected.²⁹ The special interest of this document lies in showing the seal in use very shortly before the Restoration, namely on 19 April 1660.



Westminster Abbey Seal.
(By Permission of the Dean and Chapter.)

We have here the Parliamentary design of the House in Session, combined with a fine presentment of the Abbey.

I hope I may be pardoned for occupying so much of the valuable space of our Chronicle with the flotsam and jetsam that I have been privileged to gather during the four years which have elapsed since I wrote

²⁹ Westminster Abbey Muniments, 3922.

my former article. Some repetition has been unavoidable to prevent constant reference to the earlier volume, but I have felt that the information concerning the ancestry and early life of Thomas Simon contributed



Westminster Abbey Counterseal.
(By permission of the Dean and Chapter.)

to the history of the time and the working of the Mint in the seventeenth century.

Like his father, he was born and bred a Londoner, and on his mother's side, one of the long and honourable line of Islanders, who from religious motives were strong Parliamentarians at a period when, as Mr. Anthony points out in a letter to me, art was largely in the hands of foreigners by birth, Simon was bound to be a Puritan and as such was not inclined to the Royalist cause, especially as the Stuarts had encouraged the foreign artists.

But we see from the evidence which principally by the research of Mr. Anthony I have been able to collect, that Simon was speaking truthfully when he told Charles II, on this King's return from exile abroad, that he had worked for Charles I. Indeed, he owed his education to the Royal Mint, and had performed official work there long before his articles of apprenticeship had expired. He had been trained by Greene, one of our few English Chief-Gravers, and in conjunction with Edward Wade had been offered promotion by the Parliament, reaching the post of "Joint Chief Engravers" in April 1645, owing to the death of Greene just before Christmas in 1644. At the termination of his apprenticeship in 1642 the coinage still bore the King's effigies, and although use was made of any old dies that were available, good or bad, it is not long before we recognize the hand of Simon in the newer portraits of Charles I such as the proof shillings, bearing m.m. (P), and Eye in 1643 and 1644, and Crown piece, m.m. Sun in 1645 to 1647. But it is hard to discern the work of any great artist in the fresh design of shields used after the death of the King. Simplicity was the order of the day and the urgent demand for seals no doubt fully occupied Simon, who as we know was too much of an artist to allow himself to be hurried.

But whilst Charles I was still defending himself in

³⁰ The Patent is given in full by Bernard Nightingale in *Num. Chron.*, First Series, vol. iv, pp. 214-215. Simon and Wade are therein called Edward Wade and Thomas Simon of London Goldsmiths. Mr. Nightingale also gives the resolution in the House of Commons on 25 April 1649 that Thomas Symon be appointed to be sole Chief Engraver of the Mint and Seals, *ibid.*, 216.

the Civil War, he had after the death of Greene naturally ignored the appointment of Simon and conferred the title of "Chief-Graver of his Ma^{ties} Mints in the Towre of London and elsewhere in England and Wales" upon Rawlins who had served him throughout the War.³¹ Charles I further promised him in March 1647/8 the ratification of the above patent of April 1645, should he survive the Restoration.³²

When therefore Charles II returned he found that Simon had made the seals for Parliament and the special coinage for Oliver Cromwell. But he had promised a general amnesty to those who were not concerned in his Royal Father's death and was most anxious not to upset the routine working of affairs. He was desirous of putting forth a regal coinage and finding Simon at the Mint, he pardoned him and commissioned him to make patterns at once for the recoinage of the Commonwealth money.

But can we be surprised that he honoured his father's promises and gave the post of Chief Graver to Rawlins? The latter did not interfere with the work greatly at the Royal Mint, but made several seals, badges, and medals. If Simon would have bestirred himself and urged forward the hammered coinage, as he should have done until the "Presse and Screw" were ready, all would have been well. But he was an artist and a seal engraver, and he appeared to take little interest in a temporary measure. He had studied the ways of the mill under Briot, and had worked with

³¹ *Num. Chron.*, Fourth Series, vol. xiii, p. 369. Mr. Symonds, Engravers of the Tudor and Stuart periods, quoted in *Privy Seal, Warrants, &c.*, vol. 7.

³² *Ibid.* p. 370, and *Num. Chron.*, Fifth Series, vol. xii, pp. 287-288.

Blondeau on behalf of Oliver. He was sent over to France in 1661 to fetch Blondeau and dallied two months. The matter of the seals was as urgent as the coinage, and a large output of medals was imperative.

Can one be surprised that Charles II's ministers fell back upon the Roettiers and left Simon to engrave his exquisite Coronation Medal, and the absolutely necessary seals? We see in his last account under date April 1665 that he still contributed special pieces to the coinage. In his Dominion of the Sea Medal,³³ executed in celebration of the victory of 3 June 1665, just two months before his death, he shows no sign of feebleness of eye or hand, by which we can discern that he was "somewhat infirme of body" as he states when making his last bequests and drawing his Will in that month. Rather, we may believe that the cracked die never replaced is evidence that he was wearied and over-worked. Another avocation noticed by Mr. E. Alfred Jones in a recent number of *Apollo* points to his official employment by the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths for marking plate. Mr. Jones quotes this passage: "Symons the graver having died, 5 August 1665, it was ascertained that the 'punssons' used by the Company in marking Plate were in the possession of his wife or servant, and it was ordered that they were to be got into the Custody of the Company."³⁴ Mr. Jones tells me that Edward Greene made the punches for Hall-marking in 1634, and Simon was in due course his successor in the office.³⁵

³³ *Med. Ill.*, vol. i, p. 506, no. 145.

³⁴ *Apollo*, xxi, p. 48, quoting Sir Walter Prideaux's *Memorials of the Goldsmiths' Company*, vol. ii, p. 155.

³⁵ Mr. Jones sends also an extract from the *Goldsmith MSS.*

The above notice is of special interest, as the entry supplies the day date in the month of August when Thomas Simon died. Did he die a disappointed man? May be, yes. But he was not displaced. The office of Chief Engraver, which was temporarily his by the appointment of the Parliament, was never ratified by the Crown. Naturally it was not recognized by Charles II, who necessarily endorsed his father's appointment of Rawlins. The Chief Engraver's office therefore was not vacant until the death of Rawlins five years after the demise of Thomas Simon, who remained "one of our chiefe gravers of Mint and Seals" to the last. A special salary, and more, an especial office, were invented for Jan Roettiers until Rawlins himself was dead in 1670 and a fresh patent was prepared.

But if Simon was rightly disappointed, in that Jan Roettiers's portrait of the King was pronounced by Pepys³⁶ "the better because the sweeter of the two" as it certainly was the most flattering, can we regret a disappointment which gave us the marvellously executed appeal upon the edge of the Petition Crown?

It remains only for me to thank the kind friends, who have enabled me to place some of Simon's unpublished work before my readers, and very specially Mr. Anthony, who by his research has cleared away the uncertainty of Simon's family history.

HELEN FARQUHAR.

Warden's Accounts and Council Minutes, vol. ii, part 2, Sept. 26 1635 to June 4 1636, which under date 2 January, 1635 shows Greene as King's graver assisting in the prosecution of a forger of hall-marks.

³⁶ Pepys' *Diary*, Braybrooke's edition, vol. ii, p. 18. 9 March, 1662-1663.

MISCELLANEA.

A HOARD OF CONSTANTINIAN COINS FROM LANGWITH, YORK.

THE *Report of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society for 1913* states (p. 12) that "in 1891, more than 6,000 small brass coins of Constantine and his family were found in an urn at Langwith". No further details are recorded, but it appears that some of the coins passed into private possession, as 438 were sold by Messrs. Spink & Son in 1924.¹ There are preserved in the Yorkshire Museum 1,015 coins in the pot, a large urn with the upper part missing, a box containing 281 coins labelled Langwith, and loose in the coin cabinets a large number of Constantinian coins, all, or most of which, are regarded by Mr. Geoffrey Thompson, Hon. Curator of Coins, as very probably a selection of the best specimens from the hoard. These have not yet been completely catalogued. By courtesy of Mr. Thompson and of Dr. Collinge, Keeper of the Yorkshire Museum, the 1,015 coins from the pot were recently sent to the British Museum to be cleaned and examined. A list of these follows, with a list of the coins sold at Spink's set alongside for comparison.

	<i>Examined, 1936.</i>	<i>Spink's, 1924.</i>
Constantine I	375	152
Licinius I	12	15
Licinius II	6	6
Crispus	194	84
Constantine II	295	102
Constantius II	31	30
Helena	10	14
Fausta	9	8
Constantinopolis	34	13
Urbs Roma	40	14
Constans	9	
	<hr/> 1,015	<hr/> 438

As is usual in coins of this period, the varieties of the obverse legends, busts, and mint-marks are innumerable,

¹ *Spink's Num. Circ.*, 1924, cols. 432 ff. The total is given as 439 including 103 of Constantine II, but only 438 are catalogued, including 102 of Constantine II.

and impossible to recount in detail here.² The following is a chronological list of the reverse types represented in the two groups, supplemented by tables illustrating the distribution of these over rulers, by a description of coins showing variations or irregularities, and by a list of mints.

A.D. 313-320.

- A. GENIO POP ROM Genius standing l., holding patera and cornucopiae.³
- B. MARTI CONSERVATORI Mars standing r., leaning on spear and shield.
- C. SOLI INVICTO Sol standing front, head l., raising hand and holding globe.
- D. SOLI INVICTO COMITI Type as preceding.
- E. IOVI CONSERVATORI (AVG) Jupiter standing l. between eagle and captive; Jupiter seated or standing on eagle.
- F. VICTORIA AVGG NN Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm.

A.D. 317-324.

- G. VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC PERP Two Victories facing each other, holding shield inscribed VOT P R on cippus or altar.

A.D. 320-324.

- H. BEATA TRANQVILLITAS Globe on altar inscribed VOTIS XX. Above, three stars.
- I. CAESARVM NOSTRORVM | VOT V or X within laurel wreath.
D N CONSTANTINI AVG or MAX AVG or DN LICINI AVG &c. VOT XX within laurel wreath.
- J. ROMAE AETERNAE Roma seated l., inscribing XV on a shield held on her knees. Beside her, a shield.
- K. SARMATIA DEVICTA Victory standing r., holding trophy and palm. At her foot, bound captive.

² A full list of the 1,015 coins will appear in a forthcoming *Report of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society*.

³ Not Sol, as Spink, *op. cit.*

L. VIRTVS EXERCIT Two captives seated at foot of standard inscribed $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{VOT} \\ \text{XX} \end{smallmatrix}$, or trophy.

M. VOT V MVLX CAESS within laurel wreath.

A.D. 324-330.

N. PROVIDENTIAE AVGG or CAESS Camp gate with two towers. Above, star.

O. SALVS REIPVBLICAE Fausta standing front, head l., holding two infants.

P. SECVRITAS REIPVBLICE Securitas standing l., holding branch downwards in r. hand.

Q. SPES REIPVBLICAE Type as for SALVS REIPVBLICAE

R. VIRTVS AVGG or CAESS Camp gate with three or four towers. Above, star.

A.D. 330-340.

S. GLORIA EXERCITVS Two soldiers facing each other, each leaning on spear and shield. Between them, two standards (unless otherwise stated).

T. Victory advancing l., holding spear and shield and setting r. foot on prow.

U. Wolf l., suckling Romulus and Remus. Above, two stars.

A.D. 340-348.

V. VICTORIAE DD AVGGQ NN Two Victories facing each other, each holding wreath.

The following coins among the 1,015 show noteworthy variations or irregularities:

CONSTANTINE I.

G. 1 has VICT LAETAE PRINC PERP, m.m. ESIS*

H. 5 of the London mint all have BEAT TRANQLITAS

1 has *obv.* CONSTANTINVS P F AVG, *rev.*

BEATA TRANQVILLITAS, m.m. $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{C} | \text{R} \\ \text{PLG} \end{smallmatrix}$

DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES OVER RULERS OF 1,015 COINS FROM YORK MUSEUM.

	A.D. 313-320				A.D. 320-324				A.D. 324-330				A.D. 330-340				A.D. 340-348								
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	Illegible	Total	
Constantine I	-	1	1	1	-	-	29	73	53	-	73	13	-	93	-	-	-	8	30	-	-	-	-	375	
Licinius I	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	8	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	
Licinius II	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	4	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	
Cripus	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	63	95	-	-	15	1	19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	194	
Constantine II	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	89	99	-	-	9	-	58	-	-	-	5	32	-	-	-	-	295	
Constantius II	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	-	-	-	3	14	-	-	2	-	31	
Helena	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	
Fausta	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	
Constantinopolis	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	34	-	-	-	34	
Urbs Roma	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	40	-	-	40	
Constans	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	5	1	9	
Total	-	1	1	1	-	1	35	225	259	-	73	40	1	182	4	10	5	16	79	34	40	7	1	1015	
	4				598				217				153												

- N. 1 has *rev.* D N CONSTANTINI MAX AVG Camp gate, m.m. O X T
 R. 1 has *obv.* CONSTANTINVS AVG, *rev.* VIRTVE CAESS, m.m. TA V RL (irregular).

CRISPUS.

- H. Of 37 of the London mint, 28 have BEAT TRANQ LITAS
 1 has BEATA TRANQVILITAS, m.m. illegible (irregular).
 I. 1 has D N CONSTANTINI MAX AVG, m.m. PTR
 1 has D N CONSTANTINI MAX NN(?) AVG, m.m. ST (irregular).
 N. 1 has *obv.* CRISPVS IVV(?) CAESS, m.m. PLG (irregular).

CONSTANTINE II.

- H. Of 56 of the London mint, 50 have BEAT TRANQ LITAS
 1 has *obv.* CONSTANTINVS IVN COS II, m.m.
 $\frac{C}{PLG} \mid \frac{R}{}$

- L. 1 has VOT X, m.m. $\frac{S}{ESIS} \mid \frac{F}{NL}$

- N. 1 has PROVIDENTIAE AVGG, m.m. . . . TR

CONSTANTINOPOLIS.

- T. 1 has CONSTATINOPOLIS, m.m. $\frac{*}{PLG}$ (irregular).
 1 has CONSTANTINOPOLIS, m.m. •TRS•
 1 has CONSTANTINOPIS, m.m. T . . . (double-struck).

VRBS ROMA.

- U. 1 has m.m. $\Gamma 212$ (irregular).

CONSTANS.

- S. All have one standard, m.ms. TRP X , $\frac{M}{TRS}$, $\frac{N}{TRP}$

The following are the mints represented :

Antioch	1	Nicomedia	3
Aquileia	9	Rome	12
Arles	76	Siscia	55
Constantinople	1	Thessalonica	28
Cyzicus	3	Ticinum	28
Heracleia	4	Trier	415
London	235	Illegible	15
Lyons	130		<u>1,015</u>

The following coins among the 438 show noteworthy variations or irregularities :

CONSTANTINE I.

- H. 5 of London are all classed by Spink under **BEATA TRANQVILLITAS**. Some probably have **BEAT TRANQLITAS**
- I. 2 have **VOT XXX**, m.ms. **SMHF, QT** (A.D. 324-326).
1 has **CAESARVM NOSTRORVM, VOT X**, m.m. **•PTR**
- N. 1 has *rev.* **D N CONSTANTINI MAX AVG** Camp gate, m.m. **T~T**
- S. 1 has one standard, m.m. ***SLG**

LICINIUS I.

- H. 1 has **BEATA TRANQVILITAS**, m.m. **PTR**

CRISPUS.

- G. 1 has **VICTORIA LAET P P**, m.m. **STR**
- H. 6 of London are all classed by Spink under **BEATA TRANQVILLITAS**. Some probably have **BEAT TRANQLITAS**
- 1 has Crispus **N C COS II**, m.m. $\frac{C | R}{PLG}$
- 1 has bust helmeted and cuirassed r., holding horse by the bridle and shield, m.m. **•STR~**

DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES OVER RULERS OF 438 COINS SOLD AT SPINK'S, 1924.

	A.D. 313-320					A.D. 320-324					A.D. 324-330					A.D. 330-340					A.D. 340-348		Total	
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V		Brook- age
Constantine I	-	1	-	5	-	-	13	29	27	-	10	15	-	31	-	-	-	5	16	-	-	-	-	152
Licinius I	1	-	-	-	3	-	-	1	6	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15
Licinius II	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	3	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Crispus	-	-	-	1	-	-	4	28	30	-	1	7	-	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	84
Constantine II	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	24	27	1	-	9	-	17	-	-	-	5	17	-	-	-	1	102
Constantius II	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	17	-	-	-	3	9	-	-	-	-	30
Helena	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14
Fausta	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
Constantinopolis	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	-	-	-	13
Urbs Roma	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	-	-	14
Constans	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	1	1	-	6	4	-	18	82	94	1	11	37	-	78	5	14	3	13	42	13	14	-	1	438
	12					225					113					69								

CONSTANTINE II.

H. Of 5 of London, 3 have BEAT TRANQLITAS

1 has CONSTANTINVS IVN COS II, m.m. $\frac{C | R}{PLG}$ R. 1 has VIRTVS AVGG, m.m. $\frac{P | R}{RT}$

S. 2 have one standard, m.ms. •TRP•, *PTR

The following are the mints represented :

Antioch	1	Nicomedia	4
Aquileia	11	Rome	21
Arles	66	Sirmium	2
Constantinople	2	Siscia	29
Cyzicus	3	Thessalonica	11
Heracleia	2	Ticinum	25
London	44	Trier	157
Lyons	59	Illegible	1
			<hr/> 438

The 281 coins in the Yorkshire Museum, which are contained in a box labelled Langwith, have been identified by Mr. Thompson as follows :

CONSTANTINE I.

<i>Rev.</i> BEATA TRANQVILLITAS	61
<i>Rev.</i> PROVIDENTIAE AVGG	64
<i>Rev.</i> SARMATIA DEVICTA	119

CRISPUS.

<i>Rev.</i> BEAT TRANQLITAS	18
<i>Rev.</i> PROVIDENTIAE CAESS	19
	<hr/> 281

These clearly represent a selection made by some one interested in two or three types only, and as such cannot be used in an attempt to define the content of the hoard as a whole.

A comparison of the two groups of 1,015 and 438 coins reveals a close correspondence in composition. Coins of Constantine I and II, Crispus, Constantinopolis, and Urbs Roma are represented in very similar proportions in each,

the three first mentioned being predominant. The comparatively large numbers of the rarer coins of Licinius I and II, Helena, Fausta, and Constantius II in Spink's list of 438 is due no doubt to the collector's instinct of their owner, which probably accounts also for the absence of the smaller, less attractive issues of Constans. The latter, however, were clearly never very numerous.

Each table of types includes three not in the other, but these are either rare or outside the chronological range of the majority, and may actually have been the only specimens present in the original 6,000. Otherwise, save that the period A.D. 313-320 is overweighted in Spink's list by the owner's preference for Licinius I and II, the proportionate representations of the various periods correspond fairly closely. Of the 1,015 coins, 62 per cent. are earlier than A.D. 324, 21 per cent. of A.D. 324-330, 16 per cent. of A.D. 330-340, and less than 1 per cent. later than A.D. 340. Of the 438, 58 per cent. are earlier than A.D. 324, 26 per cent. of A.D. 324-330, 16 per cent. of A.D. 330-340, and none later. Finally, the lists of the mints are identical, save that Spink's list includes two coins of Sirmium, and the proportions in which the predominant mints of Arles, London, Lyons, and Trier are represented are fairly alike, save that London is not so well represented in Spink's list, which, it will be noted, shows the same preference for the rarer mints as for the rarer types.

The similarity in composition of these entirely independent sections of the original hoard leaves little doubt therefore that the 6,000 included only these rulers, types (with the possible addition of a few of great rarity), and mints (with the same proviso), and that in proportions very similar probably to those of the 1,015 coins, which have been protected from a selective eye by the thick green coating which until recently covered them. Moreover, since the coins in Spink's list were said to be all in very fine condition, and the 1,015 now examined, except three of A.D. 313-317, are almost all in mint condition, the few cases of illegibility being due to corrosion, the original 6,000 must have been almost all in mint condition.

A hoard of this composition is entirely without parallel among those of the very numerous hoards of Constantinian coins that have been recorded in any detail. Those which show a preponderance of Constantine I and II and Crispus, and therefore of issues of c. 317-326, the period during which coins of Crispus were struck, include only a very

few of A.D. 330-333.⁴ On the other hand, those which include a very few coins of A.D. 340 or shortly after are almost entirely composed of issues of A.D. 330-340.⁵ These two classes include many hoards whose contents were said to be in very fine or mint condition, thus showing that c. A.D. 330 and again c. A.D. 340 Britain was flooded with a mass of coins almost all minted within the decade preceding, many of which were at once hoarded. The owner of the Langwith hoard clearly benefited by the first of these influxes, but not by the second, the few coins of A.D. 330-340 which are included having probably been acquired through the usual channels.⁶ This fact, combined with the very small proportion of coins with VICTORIAE DD AVGGQ NN (only seven occur in the 1,015 examined and none in Spink's list), a type which is known to have been issued in large quantities,⁷ suggests that the date of burial was A.D. 340 or very shortly after.

It is to be noted that hoards of Constantinian coins have been recorded for Yorkshire from Kettlewell,⁸ Newton Kyme, near Tadcaster,⁹ Swine,¹⁰ Thornton,¹¹ and Wakefield¹² (two). Unfortunately none of these have been fully examined, but in those from Swine and Wakefield the latest recorded coins are of A.D. 330-340. It seems very probable, therefore, that there were serious disturbances in Yorkshire about the year A.D. 340.

ANNE S. ROBERTSON.

⁴ E.g. those found at Tavistock Square, London, *Num. Chron.*, 1925, pp. 398 f.; Mendip, *Num. Chron.*, 1865, pp. 157 ff., and Granham Hill, Marlborough, *Num. Chron.*, 1890, pp. 282 ff.

⁵ E.g. those found at Bishopswood, *Num. Chron.*, 1896, pp. 209 ff., and East Coulston, *Wilts. Arch. Mag.*, xxxv, pp. 132 ff.

⁶ That the second influx did in fact comprehend Yorkshire is shown by the Wakefield hoard, *Thoresby Society Miscellanea*, xv, pp. 103 ff.

⁷ See, for example, hoards found at Silchester, *Archaeologia*, lxi, pp. 478 f., and Halifax, *Yorks. Arch. Journ.*, xxiii, pp. 444 ff.

⁸ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.*, xxxi, p. 216.

⁹ Gough's *Camden* (1789), i, p. 608.

¹⁰ Poulson, *Hist. and Ant. of . . . Holderness*, ii, pp. 215 ff.

¹¹ *Archaeologia*, ix, p. 288.

¹² *Archaeologia*, xvii, p. 333, and Parsons, *Hist. of Leeds*, i, p. 22; *Thoresby Society Miscellanea*, xv, pp. 103 ff. The latter hoard is said to include one coin of Constantius Gallus, but as there are no other coins later than A.D. 340 this is almost certainly a mistake.

A FIND FROM SHAPWICK, SOMERSET.

On May 18, 1936, James Crane, peat-cutter, of Meareway Lane, Meare, Glastonbury, Somerset, while cutting peat on Shapwick Moor, Shapwick, discovered, at a depth of about 2 feet, a hoard of Roman articles, comprising a plate, saucer,



and cup with one handle, all of pewter, two fragments of leather with nail holes, probably parts of sandals, and a small beaker of smooth dark-brown ware, $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. high, containing 120 siliquae. The beaker had been placed inside the pewter cup, and the whole covered by the saucer and plate. At an inquest held by Mr. C. Leslie Rutter, Coroner for South-east Somerset, the siliquae were found to be Treasure Trove, and were sent to the British Museum for examination. 41 coins were acquired for the National Collection, and the remaining 79 coins by the Somerset County Museum; Taunton, which has also purchased from the finder the cup and other objects.

The coins have been identified as follows:

Constantius II . . . 3	Theodosius I . . . 11
Julian . . . 4	Arcadius . . . 16
Valentinian I . . . 8	Magnus Maximus . . . 15
Valens . . . 17	Flavius Victor . . . 1
Gratian . . . 11	Eugenius . . . 5
Valentinian II . . . 13	Honorius . . . 21
	120

They are of the following types:¹

CONSTANTIUS II (3).

Obv. D N CONSTAN|TIVS P F AVG

Rev. VOTIS XXX MVLTVS XXXX in wreath.

M.ms. PCON (2, 1 cl.), CON²

JULIAN (4).

Obv. D N FL CL IVLI|ANVS AVG

Rev. VOT X MVLTVS XX in wreath.

M.ms. PCONST, SCONST

Obv. FL CL IVLIA|NVS AVG

Rev. VOTIS X MVLTVS XX in wreath.

M.m. ANT

Obv. D N IVLI|ANVS P F AVG

Rev. VOTIS XXX MVLTVS XXXX in wreath.

M.m. PCON

VALENTINIAN I (3).

Obv. D N VALENTINI|ANVS P F AVG

Rev. VRBS ROMA Roma seated l. on throne, holding
Victory on globe and sceptre.

M.ms. RP (2, 1 cl.); TRPS.

VALENS (17).

Obv. D N VALEN|S P F AVG

Rev. VOT V MV•LTVS X in wreath.

M.m. RB (cl.).

¹ *Obv.* always has bust diademed, draped and cuirassed r. The diadem is of pearls, unless otherwise mentioned. Cl.=clipped.

² Rosette diadem on *obv.*

Rev. VOT XV MVLT XX in wreath.

M.m. SISCPS (cl.).

Rev. VRBS ROMA Roma seated l. on throne, holding
Victory on globe and sceptre.

M.ms. RQ (2, 1 cl.); TRPS (2, 1 cl.). TRPS• (7, 1 cl.).

Rev. VRBS ROMA Roma seated l. on cuirass, holding
Victory on globe and reversed spear.

M.ms. $\frac{|}{AQPS} \ast$; TRPS, TRPS• (2).

GRATIAN (11).

Obv. D N GRATIA|NVS P F AVG

Rev. VIRTVS RO|MANORVM Roma seated front
on throne, holding globe and rev. spear.

M.ms. TRPS (3).

Rev. VRBS ROMA Roma seated l. on throne, holding
Victory on globe and sceptre.

M.ms. TRPS, TRPS• (2).

Rev. VRBS ROMA Roma seated l. on cuirass, holding
Victory on globe and rev. spear.

M.ms. $\frac{|}{AQPS} \ast$ (2) LVGPS; TRPS• (2).

VALENTINIAN II (13).

Obv. D N VALENTINI|ANVS P F AVG

Rev. VIRTVS RO|MANORVM Roma seated l. on
cuirass, holding Victory on globe and rev. spear.

M.ms. TRPS (7, 1 cl.).

Rev. VRBS | ROMA Type as preceding.

M.ms. LVGPS (5).

Obv. D N VALENTINIA|NVS IVN P F AVG

Rev. As preceding.

M.m. $\frac{|}{AQPS} \ast$

THEODOSIUS I (11).

Obv. D N THEODO|SIVS P F AVG

Rev. CONCOR|DIA AVGGG Constantinopolis seated front, head r., holding sceptre and cornucopiae; r. foot on prow.

M.m. AQPS

Rev. VIRTVS RO|MANORVM Roma seated l. on cuirass, holding Victory on globe and rev. spear.

M.ms. MDPS; TRPS (3, 1 cl.).

Rev. VIRTVS RO|MANORVM Roma seated front on throne, holding globe and rev. spear.

M.ms. AQPS (3, 1 cl.); TRPS (2).

Obv. ONTIIIOO|SIVS P AVS

Rev. VRBS|ROMA Roma seated l. on cuirass, holding Victory on globe and rev. spear.

M.m. LVGPS (barbarous).

ARCADIUS (16).

Obv. D N ARCADI|VS P F AVG

Rev. VIRTVS RO|MANORVM Roma seated l. on cuirass, holding Victory on globe and rev. spear.

M.ms. MDPS (7); TRPS (6).³

Rev. VOT X MVLT XX in wreath.

M.m. MDPS

Rev. VRBS ROMA Roma seated l. on cuirass, holding Victory on globe and rev. spear.

M.ms. LVGPS; MDPS

MAGNUS MAXIMUS (15).

Obv. D N MAG MAX|IMVS P F AVG

Rev. VIRTVS RO|MANORVM Roma seated front on throne, holding globe and rev. spear.

M.ms. MDPS; TRPS (14, 2 cl.).

³ Two have *obv.* D N ARCAPI|VS P F AVG.

FLAVIUS VICTOR (1).

Obv. D N FL VIC|TOR P F AVG*Rev.* As preceding.

M.m. TRPS

EUGENIUS (5).

Obv. D N EVGENI|VS P F AVG*Rev.* VIRTVS RO|MANORVM Roma seated l. on cuirass, holding Victory on globe and rev. spear.

M.ms. MDPS (3); TRPS

Rev. VRBS | ROMA Type as preceding.

M.m. LVGPS

HONORIUS (21).

Obv. D N HONORI|VS P F AVG*Rev.* VOT V MVLX in wreath.

M.m. MDPS

Rev. VIRTVS RO|MANORVM Roma seated l. on cuirass, holding Victory on globe and rev. spear.

M.ms. MDPS (20, 1 cl.).

Very few of the siliquae are clipped, and those few very slightly clipped. The earlier coins are more worn than the later, but even the latest, i.e. those with the VIRTVS ROMANORVM type, minted at Milan (including the clipped coin of Honorius) show slight traces of wear. This fact, combined with the large numbers of coins of Arcadius and Honorius of that type and mint (27), as compared with one of Theodosius, suggests that the hoard was buried some years after the death of Theodosius in A.D. 395. Moreover, in the VIRTVS ROMANORVM type, Honorius outnumbers Arcadius by 20 to 7, a proportion exactly corresponding to that of the S. Ferriby hoard.⁴ A preponderance of Honorius over Arcadius by 2 to 1 or more occurs also in

⁴ *Num. Chron.*, 1935, pp. 254 ff.

the hoards from Coleraine,⁵ Sproxtton,⁶ and Terling,⁷ and has been shown by Mr. Pearce to be a characteristic of hoards buried c. A.D. 407-411. The date of the burial of the Shapwick hoard must be at least as late, probably c. A.D. 410.

ANNE S. ROBERTSON.

COINS FROM NEAR BRIDPORT, DORSET.

DURING the past eighteen months considerable numbers of Roman coins have been found at intervals on the beach between Bridport and Burton Bradstock. Sixty-five of these came into the possession of Miss Hutchinson of Burton Bradstock, by courtesy of whom and of Lt.-Col. Drew, Curator of the County Museum, Dorchester, they were recently sent to the British Museum for examination. They are as follows:—

Gordian III	4	Tetricus I	1
Philip I	4	Illegible radiates	3
Otacilia	1	Crispus	1
Treb. Gallus	1	Helena	1
Volusian	2	Urbs Roma	1
Valerian I	1	Constantius II <i>or</i> Con-	
Gallienus	11	stans	1
Salonina	3	Valentinian I	1
Valerian II	1	Valentinian I <i>or</i> Valens	1
Postumus	14	Illegible	2
Victorinus	9		
Claudius II	2		65

Fifty-six of these are radiates, of which 55, with very few exceptions, retain the silver wash almost or quite intact, and are only slightly worn by circulation, but corroded in a manner so uniform as to leave little doubt that they come from a scattered hoard. The date of burial is determined by the presence of Tetricus as not earlier than A.D. 270, and by the proportionate scarcity of his coins as very probably shortly after that date.

⁵ *Num. Chron.*, 1855, pp. 101 ff. and 1933 pp. 170 ff.

⁶ *Num. Chron.*, 1934, pp. 61 ff.

⁷ *Num. Chron.*, 1933, pp. 170 ff.

The remaining radiate, which is very much worn and probably clipped, and the eight small brass must be the relics of a fourth-century occupation of some neighbouring site.

ANNE S. ROBERTSON.

A ROMAN HOARD FROM EYNESHAM, OXON.

THE Ashmolean Museum has acquired twenty-six coins which, supplemented by Mr. A. Thompson's kind gift of a further seven, form almost the whole of a small hoard of Roman coins found recently at Eynsham, near Oxford; it is probable that only one or two coins are now lacking from the original total. The hoard was unearthed by a labourer in a field, the pot in which it was contained being thereby smashed. Details are given on pp. 252-253.

The inclusion of bronze of the first century in a fourth-century hoard is an unusual occurrence, though not without some kind of parallel;¹ in the present case the coin of Nerva is moderately fresh. The coin of Probus (in itself scarce) deserves notice for its presence in the hoard, for, to judge from the other relevant deposits, the issues of Probus did not continue long in currency. Nearly all the Constantinian coins are sharp and fresh. The predominance among them of the mint of Trèves is marked (78 per cent. as compared with the 10 per cent. of London, 6 per cent. of Lyons, and 3 per cent. each of Arles and Siscia).

This little hoard was probably buried at some date within the period A.D. 330-333; as there is only a single example of the *Gloria Exercitus* (two standards) type of Constantius II Caesar, first issued in A.D. 330, the concealment in all probability took place before any coins of Constans as Caesar were issued at all, that is to say, before A.D. 333.

C. H. V. SUTHERLAND.

¹ Cf. the Jublains (France) hoard (*Num. Chron.*, 1881, 24 ff.); second-century bronze occurred in the Bloomsbury hoard (*Num. Chron.*, 1925, 398 ff) and in the earlier of the two Lydney hoards (*Lydney Report*, 112 ff.).

ON DIES IN NORTH-WEST GREECE.



Obverse.



Reverse.

Negative of
reverse.

A *STATER* of Thyrrheium which came to the Ashmolean Museum in Professor Griffith's collection in 1921 provides some evidence concerning the mint-technique of that town. As can be seen from the illustration, it is a restruck brockage: the obverse type appears, incuse, on the reverse, partly obliterated by the later impression of the reverse type in the normal form. The coin is a specimen of B. M. C. Corinth &c., p. 139, no. 8: size 23 mm., weight 8.51 gms. (131.4 grns.).

The brockage was presumably produced by a coin which had been duly struck sticking in the upper (reverse) die and coming down on the next blank placed on the lower (obverse) die: this seems more likely than the alternative possibility of a striking of the obverse type having been transferred to the reverse die. The reverse type would present more points of adhesion than the obverse, so that, if the metal stuck to either die after striking, it would be to the reverse rather than the obverse. The procedure at the mint may have been somewhat as follows.

Two workmen would be engaged, one placing the blanks on the lower die, the other holding the upper die and hammering it down on the blanks when in position. If a coin, when struck, remained on the lower die, the first man would sweep it off to make room for the next blank: if it stuck in the upper die, the second would knock it out: we may imagine a pile of coins accumulating on the floor. In a moment of carelessness or hurry, the second man might not notice that a coin had stuck in his die, or that he had failed to knock it out, which would presumably be done by tapping the butt of the die with a hammer, and it would be still adhering when the die was hammered on to the next blank. In the case of this particular coin, the man saw the mistake when he lifted the die again, knocked out the first coin, and hammered the die, now cleared, down on the blank once more.

The point to be specially noticed is that it is clear that the axes of the two dies were at a different angle for striking the first and second coins respectively. The cast which has been taken, using the reverse of the coin under discussion as a negative, shows, in the fragments of the Pegasos, that the obverse die is the same, but that it varies by about 20 degrees in its axial relation to the reverse. In view of this, it may be concluded, not only that the dies were not hinged or adjusted to one another—which is practically certain—but that the upper die at any rate was round in section. In series of coins known to have been struck from loose dies of square section, the sides could easily be alined, and consequently the coins tend to conform to four die-positions, \uparrow , \rightarrow , \downarrow , and \leftarrow : examples of all four positions from the same pair of dies have been found. But with a round die, there would be no guide, unless, as in some mediaeval dies, there was a notch, or the more elaborate expedient of pegs and holes found in Arab dies.

The complete absence of adjustment of dies in a mint near Thyrreum is illustrated by some coins from a little hoard of bronze obtained at Corfu by Admiral Proby Doughty in 1862, and presented to the Ashmolean Museum by his daughter Mrs. Drogo Montagu in 1934. There are fourteen coins in this hoard, all bronze of Coreyra with the types—*obv.* head of Poseidon, *rev.* bucranium and monograms in wreath. Eight are B.M.C. Thessaly &c., p. 143, no. 460, one is 455, four probably 451, and one indeterminate. Of the first-named eight, six are from the same obverse and reverse dies, in very fresh condition: and the die-positions vary in every one. If the angle between the axes of the two dies is expressed by that between the hands of a clock, when one die is taken as 12, the other is 1, $2\frac{1}{2}$, 3, 4, $4\frac{1}{2}$, and 7 respectively in the six specimens. It can hardly be supposed that these dies were in any way adjusted to one another.

J. G. MILNE.

A THEODOSIAN COIN HOARD FROM NORFOLK.

As a result of the republication¹ of a hoard of this period from Fincham, the writer has been allowed to examine the

¹ *Num. Chron.*, vol. xv, Series V, no. 57, 1935, pp. 67–8. Miss Blyth also possesses the gold coin of Evans Type B 8 described in that note, where on p. 68 the word "horseman" should read "horse".

and to have acquired some coins from it for his own collection. This, again, seems unlikely to be correct. So eminent a numismatist would probably have seen to it that the hoard was properly recorded, and so keen a collector would hardly have left behind so many excellent specimens of Eugenius.

It is composed as follows:

CONSTANTIUS II. 1. VOTIS XXX MVLTIS XXXX
PCON

JULIAN. 6. With *obv.* DN FLCLIVLI ANVS PF AVG
VOTIS V MVLTIS X PLVG; VOT X MVLT
XX SCONST, CONST. With *obv.* FLCLIV
LIA-NVS PF AVG VOTIS V MVLTIS X SLVG
(2); VOT X MVLT XX SLVG

JOVIAN. 3. VOT V MVLT X PCONST, SCONST,
TCONST

VALENTINIAN I. 7. RESTITVTOR REIPVBLICAE
* |
PCONST; VOT V MVLT X RT; VOTIS V
MVLTIS X SIRM; VRBS ROMA "Throne type"
RP (2), TRPS• (2).

VALENS. 14. RESTITVTOR REIPVBLICAE PLVG;
VRBS ROMA "Throne type" RP, RQ, TRPS•
(7), TRPS, "Cuirass type" TRPS• (3).

GRATIAN. 12. VIRTVS ROMANORVM "Throne type"
TRPS (2); VRBS ROMA "Throne type" TRPS• (3),
"Cuirass type" AQPS, TRPS• (3), TRPS (3).

VALENTINIAN II. 12. VICTORIA AVGGG "Victory r.,
holding wreath in either hand" SISCP; VIRTVS
ROMANORVM "Cuirass type" TRPS (6); VRBS
ROMA "Cuirass type" TRPS (*Obv.* DN VALENTI
NIANVS IVN PF AVG), LVGPS (4).

THEODOSIUS I. 13. VIRTVS ROMANORVM "Cuirass type" $\overline{\text{TRPS}}$ (11); VRBS ROMA "Cuirass type" $\overline{\text{LVGPS}}$ (2).

MAGNUS MAXIMUS. 17. VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM $\overline{\text{AQPS}}$; VIRTVS ROMANORVM "Throne type" $\overline{\text{MDPS}}$, $\overline{\text{TRPS}}$ (15).

VICTOR. 2. VIRTVS ROMANORVM "Throne type" $\overline{\text{MDPS}}$ (2).

ARCADIUS. 53. VIRTVS ROMANORVM "Cuirass type" $\overline{\text{MDPS}}$ (40), $\overline{\text{TRPS}}$ (10); VOT V MVLT X $\overline{\text{MDPS}}$ (2); VOT X MVLT XV $\overline{\text{MDPS}}$.

EUGENIUS. 19. VIRTVS ROMANORVM "Cuirass type" $\overline{\text{MDPS}}$ (4), $\overline{\text{TRPS}}$ (12); VRBS ROMA "Cuirass type" $\overline{\text{LVGPS}}$ (3).

HONORIUS. 71. VIRTVS ROMANORVM "Cuirass type" $\overline{\text{MDPS}}$ (69); VOT V MVLT X $\overline{\text{MDPS}}$ (2).

For comparison I append a summary of Sir George Hill's list of "Icklingham I", repeating in brackets the corresponding numbers of the present hoard:

Constantius II	.	.	.	0	(1)
Julian	.	.	.	19	(6)
Jovian	.	.	.	1	(3)
Valentinian I	.	.	.	6	(7)
Valens	.	.	.	72	(14)
Gratian	.	.	.	39	(12)
Valentinian II	.	.	.	29	(12)
Theodosius I	.	.	.	40	(13)
Mag. Maximus	.	.	.	47	(17)
Victor	.	.	.	1	(2)
Arcadius	.	.	.	40	(53)
Eugenius	.	.	.	13	(19)
Honorius	.	.	.	11	(71)
				<u>318</u>	<u>(230)</u>

While it is evident that the present hoard is not that described by Sir George Hill, we must still weigh the possibility of both having originally been found together as a single hoard and afterwards divided. The argument against this, which may be based on the inferior condition of "Icklingham I", is weakened by the fact that the great majority of the coins comprising that hoard are earlier by a decade or two than the great majority of the coins of "Icklingham III", and so would naturally be more worn. The range of the two hoards is, of course, identical—from Constantius-Julian to the post-Theodosian period of Arcadius-Honorius. With "Icklingham I" Sir George, as he tells us, received a list giving the numbers of the coins of each emperor in the hoard, which amounted in the total to 337. Among the missing 19 coins were 7 of Arcadius and 10 of Honorius, who would thus have respectively 47 and 21. Fortunately we are not left to guess what these missing coins were. Our Fellow, Mr. L. H. Rawson, has kindly brought to my notice an earlier list of the hoard, published in 1901 by a well-known antiquary of the time, Mr. H. Prigg. This list agrees, except for a confusion between the two Valentinians, very closely, on the whole, with Sir George's list, and we can accept its evidence as to the missing coins with confidence. The total of the hoard in 1901 was 349, and the VIRTVS ROMANORVM MDPS coins of Arcadius and Honorius were 23 and 21 respectively. Theodosius I has 2 only. It is true that Arcadius before his brother's accession shares in a rare earlier issue of this type at Mediolanum with Eugenius and Theodosius, but the N. Mendip hoard shows that even when the proportion of Theodosius' coins was double that of both his sons together, i.e. in his lifetime towards its end, yet Honorius has as many of this type as Arcadius, while every later hoard of which I know gives him a decided superiority. This seems to suggest that, when the common variety of this type began to be struck after Eugenius, it was struck preponderatingly for Honorius, and therefore we should expect some such proportion to be observed in "Icklingham I" as we find in "Icklingham III" and all other hoards known to me. I am inclined to think that the two hoards, "Icklingham I" and "III" should be viewed together as a single piece of evidence. The later group of the VIRTVS ROMANORVM MDPS type, so far as I can see, seems to show little variety of style, but from the commonness of the coins of both Arcadius and

Honorius the issue must have been prolonged for some years.

Through the kindness of Mr. H. C. Beck, F.S.A., I have lately been able to re-examine the "mixed hoard of *Æ* and *Æ*" ("Icklingham II"), which, it may be remembered, was remarkable for its two unique coins of "Gallienus Caesar" and "Flav. Max. Helena" (both presented by Mr. Beck to the British Museum). In contrast to the other two Icklingham hoards, nearly all the *siliquæ* of this hoard are clipped, mostly so severely as to be unidentifiable by *obv.* legend or mint-mark, and many were perforce left by me unidentified. Now, owing to greater familiarity with the later *siliquæ* gained largely from the Terling and Sproxtton hoards which showed little signs of clipping, I can identify all and add their evidence to that already given above for the normal proportions of Arcadius and Honorius in this Mediolanum issue. There are in "Icklingham II" one coin of this type for Theodosius from Mediolanum; 7 for Arcadius, 11 for Honorius.

"Icklingham I", as it came to Sir George Hill, or even as it came earlier to Mr. Prigg, shows a distribution of these coins which, though of course not impossible, is unexampled elsewhere, and seems best explained by supposing a common provenance for the two hoards, "Icklingham I" and "Icklingham III".

J. W. E. PEARCE.

ROMAN SITE-FINDS FROM CIRENCESTER.

THE following 93 coins, the property of Mrs. Edgell of Cornerways, Tewkesbury, were kindly sent to me by her for examination. They were found by her in 1893 on the site of a house then in course of erection for her father. Most of them show signs of long use. For the first three centuries reference is made, when the state of the coin allows, to Mattingly and Sydenham; for the fourth century, when more than one emperor shared the same type, the coins are arranged under types in approximate chronological order.

First century A.D. 10. Claudius 3, M. & S. 66, 68, 69.
Nero 1, M. & S. 329. Vespasian 2. Four illegible
asses.

Second century A.D. 4. Trajan 2, M. & S. 674 and illegible *sestertius*. Antoninus Pius 1, M. & S. 643. Julia Augusta 1. *R. rev. Pietas publica*.

Third century A.D. 17. Severus Alexander 1. *R.* Gallienus 3, M. & S. 179, 242, 507. Claudius II 3, M. & S. 100, 256 (2). Victorinus 2, *Pax* and *Salus* types. Tetricus I 1, M. & S. 79. Illegible radiate 4. Carausius 2, *Pax* type and woman sacrificing 1. over altar, holding anchor in her l. hand. *Rev.* legend meaningless; *obv. Im. Carausius Aug.* Allectus 1, M. & S. 90.

Fourth century A.D. 62. Period of Constantine I 19.

Soli invicto comiti 1. Licinius I $\frac{S | P}{MLN}$. *Gloria exercitus*,

two standards 4. Constantine I 1, $\frac{\text{☿}}{CONST}$, Con-

stantine II Caesar 2, \overline{TRP} , \overline{SMTS} . One small barbarous. *Gloria exercitus*, one standard 5. Constantine II Caesar 2, \overline{TRP} , \overline{TRS} . Illegible 3, of which 2 are small barbarous. *Urbs Roma* 3, \overline{TRP} , \overline{PLG} , \overline{PLG} . *Constantinopolis* 6, \overline{TRP} (2), \overline{TRS} , \overline{PLG} (barbarous). Two with illegible mint-marks, of which one is a hybrid with *rev.* wolf and twins. Period of sons of Constantine I 13. *Victoriae dd. Aug. q. nn.* 2, one of which is small barbarous. *Fel. temp. reparatio* Phoenix 1; *Æ* 2, emperor on galley 1. Constans \overline{RQ} ; warrior spearing fallen horseman 7, of which 3 are small barbarous. *Victoriae dd. nn. Aug. et Cae.* 2, Magnentius. Period of Valentinian I—Gratian 22.

Gloria Romanorum 10. Valentinian I 6, $\frac{O | FII}{LVGS}$,

$\frac{OF | II}{CONST}$, $\frac{F | R}{BSISCS}$, and 3 uncertain. Valens 3, one

halved. Gratian I, $\frac{O | FII}{LVGS}$. *Securitas reipublicae* 10.

Valentinian I 3, $\frac{\bullet | }{PCON}$, $\frac{OF | II}{CONST}$ (2). Valens 6,

$\frac{OF | I}{LVGP}$, $\frac{OF | I}{LVGPA}$, $\frac{OF | II}{CONST}$, $\frac{V | A}{\text{CON}}$, $\frac{\quad | \quad}{\text{CON}}$,
 and one uncertain. *Gloria novi saeculi* 1, Gratian
 \overline{TCON} . *Vot xv mult xx* 1, Gratian \overline{LVGS} . Period
 after death of Gratian 9. *Victoria Auggg.* two Victories 1;
 one Victory 4. Valentinian II 1, \overline{PCON} . Arcadius 1,
obv. division I-V; *rev.* division I-A (mint of Treveri).
 Two illegible. *Salus reipublicae* 4. Theodosius 1.
 Three illegible.

J. W. E. PEARCE.

REVIEW.

Catalogue of Coins in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. The Sultans of Gujarat. Compiled by C. R. SINGHAL: edited by G. V. ACHARYA. 10 x 7, pp. xxxii + 154, Pls. XI, map 1. Bombay: British India Press, 1935.

This work on the money of the Sultans of Gujarat is a welcome addition to the modern comprehensive catalogues of Indian coins. It is concerned primarily with the Cabinet of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, but is actually a Corpus, as the authors have tapped available sources both in and out of India. Congratulations are due to Mr. C. R. Singhal and to the editor, Mr. G. V. Acharya upon a sound piece of work. In addition to the usual historical matter, there are adequate accounts of mints, weights, and standards, and an elaborate description of the coinage and coin-types, together with a useful mint index and a complete list of coin legends.

Gujarat and the adjacent kingdom of Malwa were succession States of the Dehli Sultanate in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Gujarat money is always round; there are few ornaments, but the mint is frequently shown. The number of denominations has been put as high as twenty-eight, while the authors record eighteen different inscriptions, of Mahmūd I. This fortunate ruler reigned fifty-four years, yet appears to have left only one gold coin. There was an extraordinary parsimony in the use of the noble metals during the first eighty years of the dynasty.

The *Indian Museum Catalogue*, vol. ii, 1907, describes 119 specimens; the Bombay Cabinet contains 889 coins. I make the Catalogue total 1,013; the exact figure is not given. Amongst other striking results of thirty years' progress is the attribution of the magniloquent couplet quoted on the title-page to a Gujarat Sultan. The pedigree coins are a Gujarat speciality. Mr. Singhal's reading of Burhānpūr in place of a hypothetical Khānpūr is clearly right. The newly discovered mint of Dīb (Diu) provides a contact with the Portuguese.

The plates are not worthy of the letter-press. The purist will object to the absence of diacritical marks in the transliteration of names. The matter regarding Dīb on p. xxx is in the wrong place. The names of Tātār Khān and Zafar Khān on p. ix should be transposed. It is a pity that the author of an oriental coin catalogue does not get the opportunity of producing an immaculate second edition.

R. B. WHITEHEAD.

X.

A FIND OF ARCHAIC COINS FROM SOUTH-WEST ASIA MINOR.

[SEE PLATE XIV.]

SOME while ago an important hoard of late archaic coins appeared on the European market. According to reliable information in the writer's possession it consisted of 144 coins, and was unearthed up-country on the Caro-Lycian border, whence it reached the market in two portions, indeed, but substantially intact. There is good reason, therefore, to hope that the record of types given below is complete, though naturally the numbers actually recorded, especially for the commoner types of "Aphrodisias",¹ fall short of the number of coins of each type in the hoard. I am indebted to Monsieur Jean Babelon for casts of the two coins which were acquired by the Cabinet des Medailles and to Monsieur E. Bourgey for representative casts of the large majority of the remainder, in both cases with the generous permission to publish, and to my friend Mr. Herzfelder, not only for the gift of no. 9, but also for making the selection from Monsieur Bourgey's coins and for help in many other ways.

¹ Where the names "Aphrodisias" and "Olbia" are retained in this article it is simply for convenience of reference, as it is hoped to show that both attributions are untenable.

Uncertain A ("Aphrodisias").

Obv. Winged female figure in long chiton with overfold in the kneeling-running position—head l., legs r., and trunk frontal with arms spread and sloping downwards; she holds in r. caduceus, and in l. wreath.

Rev. Incuse square containing a pyramidal shape with two horn-like tags springing on l. and r. from the apex; the rest of the field filled with irregular roughenings.

1. 20.5 mm. [Pl. XIV], Bourgey.

2. *Obv.* Same die.

Rev. Different die.

22.5 mm., 186.4 gr. (12.08 grm.) [Pl. XIV], Bourgey; 21.0 mm., 191.8 gr. (12.89 grm.), Market. Overstruck on an Aeginetic stater.

3. *Obv.* The arms held at right angles to body.

Rev. Same die as no. 2.

22.0 mm. [Pl. XIV], Bourgey.

4. *Obv.* With aryballos hanging from l. wrist?

Rev. Without horn-like tags to "pyramid".

22.0 mm., 182.0 gr. (11.79 grm.) [Pl. XIV], Bourgey.

5. *Obv.* More developed style.

Rev. The roughenings on either side of the "pyramid" begin to take the form of bunches of grapes.

22.0 mm., 178.9 gr. (11.27 grm.) [Pl. XIV]=Ars Classica XVI (1933), lot 1438=Hamburger 96, lot 155.

About eighty other specimens of the same types, most, if not all, from the same dies or combinations of dies as the above, also came into Monsieur Bourgey's hands.

Phaselis.

Obv. Prow of galley l. in shape of boar's head; three shields suspended on the gunwale.

Rev. Stern of galley r. with raised deck; square incuse; in countermark Φ upside down.

6. \mathcal{A} 22.0 mm., 174.4 gr. (11.30 grm.) [PL. XIV], Bourgey. Overstruck on Aeginetic stater.

Uncertain B ("Olbia").

Obv. Naked male figure, with wings at shoulder and heel, in the kneeling-running position, head and legs l., trunk frontal, r. arm raised and l. arm lowered; in field on l. above, Φ .

Rev. Lion standing l. with head turned back and tail curled backwards over hind-quarters; above Φ , and $\downarrow \mathcal{S} \mathcal{M} \mathcal{X}$; dotted ground line; square incuse.

7. *Rev.* Monogram divides legend.

\mathcal{A} 21.0 mm., 181.0 gr. (11.73 grm.) [PL. XIV], Market; 22.0 mm., 182.1 gr. (11.80 grm.), Paris. Overstruck on Aeginetic stater?

8. *Obv.* Same die.

Rev. The forelegs close together; same inscription.

\mathcal{A} 21.5 mm., 180.6 gr. (11.70 grm.) [PL. XIV], British Museum.

9. *Obv.* The figure of slenderer proportions; the monogram in field l., in front of knee.

Rev. Similar, but different die.

\mathcal{A} 20.0 mm., 182.3 gr. (11.81 grm.) [PL. XIV], British Museum²; Bourgey (2 specimens).

² This coin, which was presented to the Museum by Mr. Herzfelder, was obtained independently of the others, but at the same time as that at which they came on the market, and there can hardly be a doubt of its belonging to the hoard.

9 bis.

Obv. Type to r., die much worn.

Rev. Similar; last letter omitted or off flan.

At 21.5 mm., 183.1 gr. (11.86 grm.) [Fig.],
Bourgey.



9 bis.

9 ter.

9 ter.

Obv. Same die.

Rev. Forelegs slightly apart as on no. 7; last letter omitted.

At 20.0 mm., 181.7 gr. (11.77 grm.) [Fig.], and
20.5 mm., 181.3 gr. (11.75 grm.), Bourgey.

10. *Obv.* Similar, but different die.

Rev. Lion's r. forepaw raised; last letter of legend omitted; microscopic monogram between mouth and tip of tail.

At 20.5 mm., 181.4 gr. (11.75 grm.) [Pl. XIV. 10 A],
Paris, overstruck; 21.5 mm., 181.2 gr. (11.74 grm.)
[Pl. XIV. 10 B], Market; 21.0 mm., 181.5 gr. (11.76
grm.), R. C. Lockett Coll. = Ars Classica XVII, lot
585; 7 other specimens with Bourgey.

11. *Obv.* Same die.

Rev. Lion's r. forepaw lowered.

At 21.0 mm., 180.3 gr. (11.68 grm.) [Pl. XIV],
Market.

12. *Obv.* Same die.

Rev. Lion's r. forepaw raised; the first two letters to r. of monogram, the third in lower left-hand corner, the last omitted; the whole in square dotted frame.

At 21.5 mm., 181.9 gr. (11.79 grm.) [Pl. XIV], Market; 20.0 mm., 21.0 mm. (overstruck on Aeginetan stater?), and six other specimens, Bourgey.

Eight or nine other specimens of nos. 7-12 have also passed through Monsieur Bourgey's hands.

Uncertain C.

Obv. Lion springing r., with raised forepaws.

Rev. Corinthian helmet r.; square incuse. Overstruck on Aeginetic stater, traces of the turtle with the row of dots down his shell being visible under the reverse type.

13. At 21.9 mm., 181.3 gr. (11.75 grm.) [Pl. XIV], Bourgey.

Uncertain D.

Obv. Wedge-shaped marking.

Rev. Square incuse containing pyramidal figure as on nos. 1-8?

14. At 20.5 mm. [Pl. XIV], Bourgey.

As regards condition, the large majority of the coins showed little signs of wear and were uniformly fine. Only the stater of Phaselis (no. 6) and the uncertain stater with the helmet (no. 13) were somewhat rubbed, though of the male winged figures no. 9 was not so fresh as the rest. In appreciating condition, allowance should be made for the careless way in which many of the coins, especially those with the female winged figure, were turned out. Often, perhaps owing to overstriking, they were not properly struck up, so that the flatness of the surface gives the coin a delusive

appearance of wear as on no. 5. Often again they are mis-struck, so that only a part of the type appears. The climax is reached in no. 14 which I suspect of being a coin of the winged female figure group like nos. 1-4.

Nos. 1-5, doubtfully catalogued under Mallus by Hill,³ in deference to Imhoof's earlier views, were subsequently reattributed by the latter⁴ to Aphrodisias in Cilicia, largely owing to the alleged baetyl on the reverse which was held to resemble the cult-stone of the Paphian Aphrodite. On later coins unrepresented in this hoard (*B.M.C., Lycaonia, &c.*, p. 96, nos. 5-11) this object appears in a stylized triangular shape flanked by formalized birds or bunches of grapes (like no. 5), but accompanied by one or more alphabetical signs which Imhoof suggested might be *ἑρὰ στοιχεῖα*⁵ such as are found on baetyls.

Of these signs ∇, often in conjunction with Γ, is the commonest, I and Ψ are each found once; ∇ occurs on every inscribed coin and is the only one found by itself, and, when so found, is on the earliest coins. It also occurs with Γ on the latest coin, a little bronze of which the reverse type instead of a baetyl is a sphinx.⁶ It is therefore almost impossible to resist the conclusion that these two signs represent the ethnic in some non-Greek script⁷ and that the others, if not

³ *B.M.C. Lycaonia, &c.*, p. cxvii.

⁴ His arguments are finally summed up in *Rev. suisse*, xix (1913), pp. 95-98, with references to previous articles.

⁵ *Ann. de Num.*, 1883, p. 123 note. It seems no longer necessary to discuss Svoronos's astronomical fantasies (*Z.f.N.*, xvi, pp. 219 seqq.).

⁶ Imhoof, *Z. Gr. und Röm. Med.*, p. 204, no. 2.

⁷ As Six (*Num. Chron.*, 1894, p. 230) recognized: his attribution

part of the ethnic, are moneyers' marks. The first, second, and fourth occur as Carian letters,⁸ the third as a Lycian. That the Carian alphabet as hitherto known should lack this sign may well be accidental, for at present it contains no sign for *i* and *j*, and our scanty knowledge of it is mostly confined to a much earlier period. The same sign occurs again on the coins with the running male figure (Pl. XIV. 7-12, 15-18) which I hope to show are Carian, and an equally unknown sign occurs on the undoubtedly Carian stater published earlier in this volume (see p. 188). The value of the second letter is *l*, but that of the initial is uncertain, so that it hardly seems worth while to attempt a closer attribution. In discussing this reverse type in its fully developed form not here represented, Hill (*loc. cit.*, p. cxx note) justly remarked, that whatever their later significance, the birds and grapes are fortuitous in origin, and derive from the granulated patches on the earlier incuses, their shapes having been conditioned by the development of that of the baetyl. In fact the same observation may be applied to the baetyl itself, which there is no reason to take as more than a development of the original incuse pattern. Shapes closely resembling it in its earliest form occur commonly on the contemporary coinage of Lycia (e.g. *B.M.C. Lycia*, Pl. I, nos. 6-12) where they are rightly regarded as purely formal devices. If the original of the baetyl is fortuitous, the last link with Aphrodite and so with Aphrodisias vanishes.

In this connexion it should be noted that the

to Anchiale, however, apart from other difficulties, is open to the objections given below against any place in Cilicia.

⁸ Friedrich, *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler*, p. 156.

characteristic granulation of the surface within the incuse and the development of the latter into fantastic patterns occur only on rare Ionian electrum, on coins of the Carian district and of Cyrenaica under Rhodian influence. Most interesting for comparison are the satrapal tetradrachms of Rhodian weight of the later fourth century, some if not all of which are Carian, as Babelon has shown.⁹ The winged figure of the obverse has sometimes been named Iris or Nike, but owing to the supposed Cilician origin of the coins it is usually thought of as belonging to the circle of Semitic sky deities.¹⁰ The present find shows that in the earlier series, as in the later, the goddess always carries a caduceus and wreath, and on examination apparent exceptions elsewhere¹¹ turn out to be due to accidents of striking. There is therefore no reason, once a Cilician origin is disallowed, why the goddess should not be Nike, and if the object hanging from the left arm on no. 4 is rightly described as an aryballus (unfortunately only a single specimen so far has appeared) the identification becomes certain, and the type more narrowly agonistic.

The reasons against a Cilician and in favour of a Carian origin may be summarized as follows:

- (1) Alphabet: no other Cilician issues are inscribed in any alphabet except Greek or Aramaic, whereas two at least of these signs belong to the Carian alphabet.

⁹ *B.M.C. Caria*, Pl. XXIX. 14-15, Pl. XXXIV. 8-9 (Posidium, Camirus); *B.M.C. Cyrenaica*, Pl. I *passim*, and Pl. XLVII. 9; *Traité*, ii, 2, coll. 129 seqq. Thracio-Macedonian incuses, when granulated, show a different treatment.

¹⁰ Imhoof, *Ann. de Num.*, 1883, p. 124.

¹¹ E.g. the stater on which Imhoof saw a staff tipped with a small globe, *B.M.C. Lycaonia*, &c., p. 96, no. 5.

- (2) Provenance: the present hoard, which, apart from these coins, contained only Caro-Lycian coins, was unearthed on the Caro-Lycian border. On the other hand, the Cilician hoard published by Newell,¹² which contained early coins of the other Cilician cities, Celenderis, Soli, Mallus, Issus?, contained none of "Aphrodisias".
- (3) The peculiar incuse shows closer analogies to Lycian and Carian coins than to any other series, while the obverse type shows no trace of Semitic influence.
- (4) The weight standard is Aeginetic, which is normal for Caria at this time, but otherwise unknown in Cilicia¹³; and, like other Carian coins, these are not infrequently overstruck on Aeginetic staters.

For dating we have no criterion but style. Already an archaizing tendency seems present in the refinement of detail and the exaggerated formalization of the pose, but there is a certain incongruity between them. The head (e.g. on no. 1) recalls in treatment those on the coins of the Lycian dynasts Tātthiväibi and of his successor Sppñdza,¹⁴ and the latter rather than the former. Hill assigns the later series not represented here to the wide limits 485-425 B.C. I would suggest that it begins not earlier than c. 450 and that nos. 1-5 fill the previous quarter of a century.

The stater of Phaselis (no. 6) differs from any of the published specimens in the unusually lofty superstructure visible above the stern on the reverse, and is one of the earliest with this type. Its main interest, however, is the countermark containing the same sign

¹² *Num. Chron.*, 1914, pp. 43 ff.

¹³ The coins with the goat type of this standard, which used to be given to Aegeae or Celenderis, are now recognized to be Aegean or Macedonian in origin.

¹⁴ *B.M.C. Lycia*, Pl. V, nos. 8-15; cp. also Pl. XIII, no. 6, of the present volume.

as appears so prominently on the coins with the male winged figure which must now be discussed.

All the coins of the last-named series contained in the hoard were struck from four obverse and eight reverse dies, the only specimen of this issue previously known (*B.M.C.*, no. 2) being from the same die as no. 11. The obverse die used for nos. 7-8 is more archaic in style than that used for nos. 10-12; there is no muling between them. The obverse die of no. 9 seems closer in the apparently slighter proportions of its figure to the second than to the first of these two, and is therefore shown on the plate between them. It may be questioned, however, whether these slighter proportions are not really the effect of wear and double-striking, and whether no. 9 is not in fact the first of the series. Such an order would fit well with the reverse type which shows the lion's forelegs drawn tightly together, while it would account for the somewhat worn condition of the coins. The obverse die of nos. 9 *bis* and *ter* is so worn on the only examples available that it is difficult to compare it in detail with the others. The type is, however, turned to the right, and the general pose and proportions resemble those of nos. 10-12. On the other hand, the lions on the two reverse dies with which it is associated stand very close to those of nos. 7 and 8-9. Nos. 9 *bis* and *ter* therefore seem to fall stylistically between no. 9 and no. 10.

The attribution of this whole series to Olbia rests ultimately on Six's misinterpretation of the last three letters of the defective legend above the lion on the hitherto unique *B.M.* specimen.¹⁵ With the two

¹⁵ Six in *Z.f.N.*, 1879, pp. 81 seqq.

letters on the left and only half of the next one it was easy to read [O]λβι reversed. Even so Six came to regard the attribution as far from certain, and later gave good reason for abandoning it in favour of a Carian mint; then, less happily, returned to his original view.¹⁶ Now that the inscription can be read in full for the first time, it cuts away the ground of this attribution, for it is not written in Greek characters, nor, whatever it may signify, can it contain the name of Olbia. It is impossible to discuss the present coins adequately without taking into consideration the other issues of the same mint which were not represented in the hoard. They are illustrated on pl. XIV, nos. 15-18.¹⁷ It will be seen that all have a young male deity and a lion in some shape for types, and that all carry in variant form the curious sign which has sometimes been taken for a caduceus. The question who the deity is must be left undecided. He has no attribute unless the bay (?)-wreath which he wears on no. 15 can be so described, but in view of his wings and of the deep-seated sun-cult in South Western Asia Minor, associated as it is with the lion, his nature is perhaps solar. The same suggestion has been made for a similar naked winged male figure on the new Carian stater published above (p. 188). On no. 15 the damaged letter on the extreme left of the inscription is lunate though it has hitherto been read as an archaic sigma,¹⁸

¹⁶ *Num. Chron.*, 1890, p. 250, and 1898, p. 217.

¹⁷ No. 16 is *B.M.C.* no. 1; no. 15 is a drachm (wt. 46.8 gr. = 3.03 grm.) in the Berlin Museum, for a cast of which I have to thank Dr. Liegle; nos. 17 & 18 are drachm (wt. 45.0 gr. = 2.92 grm.) and hemidrachm (21.5 gr. = 1.39 grm.), in the *B.M.*, but acquired since the Catalogue was published.

¹⁸ Prokesch in the original publication, *Num. Zeit.*, 1870, p. 264, and repeated from him by Six and others.

that on the extreme right, though resembling T, has much more of the cross-piece on one side of the stalk than on the other and must be Γ. Perhaps the engraver hesitated whether to reverse this letter as he had reversed the inscription. For the inscriptions on nos. 15 and 16 are the same, Γ Μ Ξ Ι Μ Γ C, written in different directions. No. 15 is the latest coin in the group. The lion on the obverse is clearly modelled on the mid-century drachms of Cnidus (*B.M.C. Caria*, Pl. XIV, nos. 2 and 4) while the young male head on the other side suggests certain Apollo heads at Catana and Leontini in the decade 440-430 B.C. The stater therefore with which it is associated by its inscription must be brought down from the early fifth century, the date assigned to it in the *B.M.C.*, and placed after, rather than before, the coins of the other group with the shorter inscription (nos. 7-12). A comparison with the latter confirms this order. On nos. 7-9, hitherto unknown, the rendering of the obverse is earlier than the others. It shows no archaizing; the upper trunk is fully frontal, and there is a curious resemblance to the early incuse staters of Tarentum with Apollo and the lyre.¹⁹ This is followed by dies (nos. 10-12) which show the trunk beginning to turn and leaving only the shoulders in frontality; and it is these which the coin with the long inscription (no. 16) most closely resembles. A similar development can be traced on the reverse. First the lion stands on a dotted line with forepaws fast on the ground, then he raises one forepaw; lastly on no. 12, the dotted line is extended to form a square frame; and so framed, with

¹⁹ *B.M. Guide, Coins of the Greeks*, i. c. 2.

raised forepaw, he appears on no. 16. A very close parallel to the earliest lion with raised paw may be noted on the headpiece of a Clazomenian sarcophagus in Leipzig which should be dated c. 475 (*J. H. S.*, lvi (1936), p. 61, Pl. IV). I would suggest, therefore, limiting dates of 480-460 B.C. for the coins contained in the hoard, and 460-440 B.C. for the rest. The coins thus cover a period of about forty years, and it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the constant sign, which is found on every coin, represents a city name. If this is so, its use as a countermark on the stater of Phaselis (no. 6) becomes especially significant. The contact with Cnidus already noted and the Aeginetic weight-standard combine to suggest that this city was Carian, while the provenance of the present hoard strongly points in the same direction. This sign can be resolved into two letters, Φ and Υ or Υ , the former not known in either Lycian or Lydian, but both used in Carian; moreover, in this script, apparently unlike Lycian, composite signs are employed.²⁰ The same sign again occurs among others on coins of another Carian city, probably Cannos, and also on an early stater of Lycia.²¹ The values assigned to these two Carian letters are *vo -u*; what name they represent must remain uncertain, but they bring to mind the *Αυλιатаί—Ουλιатаί*, who are credited with a modest contribution in the Athenian "tribute-list" for this district.²² If the composite sign is an ethnic, then the

²⁰ See tables in Friedrich, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

²¹ *Traité*, iii, Pl. XIX, no. 22 (on the lion's shoulder); Pl. XCII, no. 14. For occasional Carian letters on a Lycian coin even when the main legend is Lycian, see *ibid.*, ii, 2, cols. 285-286.

²² CIA 244, 263 &c., according to Merritt the last form is a stone-cutter's error (*Tribute Assessment in Ath. Emp.*, p. 265).

other two inscriptions are most likely to contain the names of dynasts, as on the Greek coins of Tymnes of Termera not far away,²³ on the Carian stater of an uncertain dynast already referred to (p. 188 above), and so frequently in Lycia. Both contain letters known in Carian but not in Lycian (or Lydian). Σ , C, but also letters, I and Ξ , known in the latter but not hitherto in the former. It has been argued above, however, in discussing the later coins with the running Nike type, that in view of our limited and scanty knowledge of Carian even compared with Lycian, the appearance of new signs in that alphabet is not so unlikely. In the first name the omission on no. 10 of the letter on the extreme left proves that it should be read from right to left. Assuming the language to be Carian, the transliteration, following Friedrich, is *le-s-b-[i?]*. This has a Greek ring and the name *Λεσβιος* actually occurs at Cyme.²⁴ For the other name we have no such help, but it is perhaps fair to assume that, of the two inscriptions, the earlier reads from left to right and the later the other way. If so, the transliteration would be *g-l-s [i-ñ]*²⁵ *s-l*. A much earlier Carian inscription from Memphis seems to contain the second, third, and fourth letters in this sequence.²⁶

The uncertain stater with the helmet reverse (no. 13) seems quite new. The obverse repeats the ravaging lion with raised paw found on the reverse of the preceding coins, but the head is not turned back.

²³ *B.M.C. Caria*, p. 176, no. 2.

²⁴ Bechtel, *Personennamen*, p. 540.

²⁵ As in Lycian or Lydian.

²⁶ Friedrich, *ibid.*, no. 45; the I is there treated as a dividing stroke.

There seems to be no legend (though in the present state of the coin it is impossible to be quite certain) and no definite attribution suggests itself, but the Aeginetic weight and lion type again point to a mint in the district in which the coin was found. The remaining coin, no. 14, as has already been suggested, is a deformed stater of the running Nike type like no. 4; half the "cone" of the reverse and the granulation in the incuse are still visible, though the obverse type is almost completely off the flan; the triangular form appears to be an accidental lump.

The latest coin in the hoard is perhaps no. 5 with the running Nike, and, in view of the limiting dates for which reason has been given in describing individual coins, the hoard will have been buried about 460 B.C. Apart from the new types which it contains its importance lies in the reattribution within certain limits of two important series of archaic coins to which it points the way, and also in the light which it throws on the Aeginetic standard and its distribution along the southern coast of Asia Minor. All the coins except the stater of Phaselis (no. 6, 11.30 grm.), which is of Persic weight, are on this standard, and several are actually overstruck on Aeginetan staters, but the weights show considerable variation, and the lighter coins (e.g. no. 5, 11.27 grm.) are indistinguishable from coins of normal Persian weight. In this connexion it is interesting to see that the coin of Phaselis, though nominally of a different standard, is actually countermarked with the sign which I have regarded as the ethnic on the coins with the winged male figure, and therefore presumably circulated as one of them. Further, with the removal of nos. 1-5 (and the later

coins which go with them) from Aphrodisias, the Persic and Babylonian standards beginning from Caunus reign uninterruptedly from the Caro-Lycian border eastwards. There is no evidence, as Professor P. Gardner has already indicated,²⁷ for the use of the Aeginetic standard east of Caria, and the conclusions as to the existence of an extended Aeginetan trade in this quarter in early times based on that assumption must be abandoned.

E. S. G. ROBINSON.

²⁷ *Hist. of Ancient Coinage*, p. 172.

XI.

NOTES ON THE OXFORD COLLECTION.

(2) MYSIA, TROAS, AND AEOLIS.

[SEE PLATES XV-XVI.]


IN dealing with that part of Mysia which has not yet been described in the Berlin Corpus, and with Troas and Aeolis, I have only given places to coins which have not been published, or inadequately published, and appear to offer points of interest: minor varieties of known types have been omitted.

MYSIA.

CYZICUS.

There is a twelfth of the type with head of Atys r., of which von Fritze catalogued the stater and sixth in *Nomisma*, vii. 11/142: El., 9 mm., 1.26 g.

Head of Kore r., crowned with corn, wearing ear-ring and necklace, hair in loose locks.

r. ↓ KYI! l. ↓ KHNΩN Tripod with three ring-handles, two ring-ties on legs, and lion's feet, wreath over handles, flaming torch l. below: i. f. r. 

AR ↑, 25.5 mm., 10.09 g. [Pl. XV. 1.]

This coin is from the same obverse die as no. 2222 in the Pozzi catalogue, but the monogram on the reverse is different, and the treatment of the tripod bolder. The Pozzi coin has been doubted on the ground of its weight (10.13 g.), but this is quite in accordance with other issues of the third century B.C. in the region of the Hellespont. The dating of the coin in the Pozzi catalogue to the second century is too late: the style is clearly of the middle of the third century, and very close to that of von Fritze's group V, which he regards as beginning about 300. The weights of the coins of this group are very irregular, ranging from about 13.50 g. to 11 g. (see Babelon, *Traité* II. 2. 1465):

as Cyzicus was not a silver-producing city, the silver coins struck there would be mainly for local use, and their weight would not need to be very exact. This coin would presumably be treated as a tetradrachm in Mysia, ranking with the cistophoric tetradrachms of slightly later date.

Faustina.

ϸΦΑΥΤΕΙΝΑ ΨΝΕΑΕΒΑΧΘ Bust r. draped.

ϸΚΥΪΚΗΝΩΝ ΨΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Aphrodite Anadyomene standing to front, head r., wringing out hair with both hands: at her feet, shell.

Æ ↓, 27 mm., 9.78 g.

The object at the feet of the goddess on the reverse seems to be intended for a shell, not for a pile of clothes.

Commodus.

ϸΑΥΚΑΙΜΑΥΡ ΨΚΟΜΜΟΔΟC Bust r. laur., back view.

ϸΚΥΖΙΚ ΨΗΝΩΝ ex. → ΝΕΩΚΟΡ Dionysos seated l. on throne with low back, hair long, himation over legs, holding out r. hand to small panther standing up against his knee, resting l. elbow on back of throne: vine growing up behind throne and trailing above his head. [Pl. XV. 2.]

Æ ↓, 28.5 mm., 7.89 g.

Severus Alexander.

ϸΜ·ΑΥΡ·ϸΕΥΗ·ΑΛΕ ΨΞΑΝΔΡΟC ΑΥΓ Bust l. laur., wearing cuirass and cloak, r. hand raised, in l. sceptre resting on shoulder.

Zeus seated to front, laur., wearing himation, on high-backed throne, holding globe in r., resting l. on sceptre: at his feet, eagle standing l., head r., wings half open: in field above, on l., Helios in quadriga galloping r., on r. Selene in biga of bulls galloping l.; below, on l., river-god crowned with reeds, himation over legs, reclining r., holding cornucopiae in r., reed in l., on r. sea-god crowned with crab's claws, himation over legs, reclining l., holding dolphin in

ΚΥΖΙΚΗ ΝΩΝ

r., cornucopiae in l.: across middle, → ΔΙCΝ ΕΩΚ:
OP ΩΝ

around, circle of Zodiac, beginning at top and running from r. to l.

Æ ↑, 43.5 mm., 44.92 g. [Pl. XV. 3.]

The same design for the reverse, with slight variations in detail, occurs on a medallion of Perinthus (*B.M.C., Thrace*, 157/58), but in that the Zodiac runs from l. to r., not widdershins.

Gallienus.

ΣΑΥΤ·Κ·Π·ΑΙΚ· Ψ[ΓΑ]ΛΛΙΗΝΟC Bust l. laur., wearing cuirass, r. hand raised, shield on l. arm.

CΤΡΑ | ΛΟΚCΕ | ΒΗΡΟΥΚ | VZIKHN | ΩΝΔΙCΝ | ΕΟΚΟ in laurel-wreath.

Æ ↑, 25 mm., 8.97 g. [Pl. XV. 4.]

LAMPISACUS. *Severus Alexander.*

Σ·ΑΚΜΑΥC· ΨΑΛΞΑΝΔΡ Bust r. laur., wearing cuirass.

ΣΕCΤΠΡΕΙΜΟ ΨΥ ΛΑΜΨΑΚΗΝ ins. ΨΩ N Statue of Priapos on basis l., holding in r. kantharos inverted over small altar with fire on it, resting l. on thyrsos.

Æ ↑, 28.5 mm., 12.95 g. [Pl. XV. 5.]

MILETROPOLIS. *M. Aurelius Caesar.*

ΩΜ·ΑΥΡΗ·ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC·ΚΑ --- Ρ Bust r., bareheaded, youthful, back view. [Oval cmk., bearded head r., behind it ΣΑΝΩ].

ΣΕΠΙCΤΡΑΔΙΦΙΛΟΥ ΨΜΕΙΛΗΤΟ ΠΟΛΙ --- Artemis advancing r., wearing short chiton, with r. drawing arrow from quiver at her shoulder, holding bow in l.: at her feet, dog running r.

Æ ↓, 30.5 mm., 12.02 g. [Pl. XV. 6.]

PERGAMUM. *Tiberius.*

ΨΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΝ ----- ΣΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΟΙ Head r. laur.

ΨΑΦΟΥΡ ΨΙΟΣΑΡΧΙ ΣΕΡΑΤΕΥΩΝ Tetrastyle temple-front on double-stepped base.

Æ ↘, 21 mm., 4.41 g.

This coin represents a later stage in the career of Furius than those previously published.

Caracalla.

ϸΜΑΥΡΑΝΤΩ ΝΕΙΝΟC Bust r. laur., back view.

ϸΠΕΡΓΑ ΝΗΝΩΝ Hygieia standing r., wearing long chiton and peplos, holding on r. arm serpent which drinks from a patera in her l. hand.

Æ ↑, 19 mm., 5.74 g.

TROAS.

ABYDUS.

Head of Apollo r. laur., hair long and loose.

Eagle standing r.: i. f. l. ↑ΑΡΤΕΜΩΝ, r. ΝΑΒΥ and, above, star of eight points.

Α ↙, 17 mm., 3.24 g. [Pl. XVI. 1.]

This is an addition to the drachms of "Rhodian" weight enumerated by E. S. G. Robinson in *Num. Chron.*, 1921, p. 8.

Head of Artemis to front, slightly r., laur., wearing high crown and necklace. [Round cmk., female head to front, with high crown.]

Eagle standing r., wings open: i. f. r. ↓ΑΒΥ and, below, Φ and aplustre. [Round cmk., figure seated l., r. hand outstretched, in front, caduceus upright, behind ↓ΑΒΥ.] [Remains of second cmk., ΒΥ, above head of figure.]

Α ↘, 24 mm., 7.29 g. [Pl. XVI. 2.]

The original types of this coin are those of Imhoof-Blumer, *Griech. Münzen*, 621/197, and the countermarks are illustrated, *ibid.*, Pl. VII. 18, struck on a different original. In this case the reverse countermark seems to have been struck twice, and there are traces that the same occurred on the obverse: the two countermarks would probably be impressed together, and thus there was a virtual restriking of the coin with smaller dies.

Commodus.

ϸΑΥΚΑΑΥΡ ΝΚΟΜΜΟΔΟC Bust r. laur., back view.

ϸΕΠΙΑΡΧΑΙΑ ΝΙΩΛΟΥΤΒ ex. →ΑΒΥΔΗ Dionysos standing l., nude, holding kantharos in r., chlamys on l. arm.

Α ↓, 28 mm., 8.50 g. [Pl. XVI. 3.]

ALEXANDRIA TROAS.

Head of Apollo r. laur., hair long.

ab. →ΑΛΕΞΑΝ ex. →ΔΡΕΩΝ Horse feeding r.: between legs, ΣΙ and, below, grain of corn.

Α ←, 15.5 mm., 2.41 g. [Pl. XVI. 4.]

This little silver coin, in style, ranks with the earliest bronze issues of the town, and may probably be dated very shortly after the foundation received the name of Alexandria.

ASSUS. *Tiberius*.

ΝΤΙΚΑΙΣΑΡ Head r. laur.

ΑΣΣΙ Head of Athene r., wearing crested helmet.

Α ↓, 18 mm., 4.17 g.

ILIUM. *Commodus*.

ΣΑΥΚΑΙΜΑΥΡΗ ΝΚΟΜΜΟΔΟC Bust r. laur., back view. [Round cmk., bust r., helmeted and draped.]

ΣΔΙΑΙΔΑΙ ΝΟΝ ΙΑΙΕΙC Zeus seated l. on throne without back, himation over legs, resting r. on sceptre, holding out Palladion on l.

Α ↓, 27 mm., 9.39 g. [Pl. XVI. 5.]

This reverse type is illustrated in Schliemann, *Ilios*, p. 642, but the drawing is not very satisfactory.

PIONIA. *Antoninus Pius*.

ΣΑΥΚΑΙΤΙΑΙΑΙΑΔΡΙ ΝΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC Head r. bare.

ΣΕΠΙCΤΡ ΛΟΝΠΕΡΚ ΝΟΥΚΑΙ i. f. ↓^oΤΒ ex. →ΠΙΟΝΙΤ
ΩΝ River-god reclining l., himation over legs, reed in r. hand, l. elbow resting on urn from which water flows: to l., Athene(?) standing r., wearing long chiton, resting r. hand on shield, l. raised: to r., city-goddess standing l., wearing turreted crown and long chiton, r. hand raised, sceptre in l.

Α ↓, 28 mm., 13.77 g. [Pl. XVI. 6.]

The reverse type is enigmatical: it may refer to some connexion between Pionia and Ilium.

ÆOLIS.

MYRINA. (*M. Aurelius*.)

CMVPI 2NAION Bust of Apollo r. laur., wearing chlamys: to r., laurel-twig.

ΟΕΠΙΜ·ΟΥΛ·ΑΡΙCΤΟΦΑΝΟΥC Lyre.

Æ ↓, 15 mm., 2.04 g.

TEMNUS.

Head of Dionysos r., youthful, crowned with vine-leaves.

TA in vine-wreath.

Æ →, 8 mm., 0.75 g. [Pl. XVI. 8.]

Head of Apollo r. laur., hair short.

Amphora: on each side, bunch of grapes, hanging from branch above: i. f. below, T Δ

Æ ↑, 16 mm., 3.46 g. [Pl. XVI. 7.]

(*Philip I.*)

CIEPACVN 2KAHTOC Bust r., draped.

QEΠC·APV·ONHCIMOV ex. →IMHT Two Nemeses standing facing, each wearing long chiton and raising inner hand to neck, outer arm lowered.

Æ ↓, 23.5 mm., 5.53 g.

ANTISSA.

LESBOS.

Head of Zeus r. laur.

Apollo standing to front, laur., wearing long robe, holding in r. patera, in l. kithara: i. f. $\begin{matrix} A & N \\ T & \Sigma \end{matrix}$

Æ ↑, 17 mm., 3.55 g. [Pl. XVI. 9.]

MYTILENE.

CEEOC 2AMMΩN Head of Ammon r., horned.

COMONOIA ex. → $\begin{matrix} MYTIAHN \\ AIΩN \end{matrix}$ City-goddess seated to front, wearing turreted crown, long chiton, and peplos: on her r., Asklepios standing to front, wearing himation,

resting r. on staff, and Nemesis standing r., wearing long chiton, holding bridle in l., r. hand at neck: on her l., cult-figure of Artemis Ephesia to front, and Nemesis standing l., wearing long chiton, r. hand at neck, wheel at feet.

Æ ↓, 32 mm., 17.54 g. [Pl. XVI. 10.]

The reverse type presumably represents a comprehensive gesture of friendship from Mytilene to Pergamum, Ephesus, and Smyrna. The obverse is from the same die as the next coin, which is dated to the time of Valerian by the magistrate's name.

ΘΕΟC ΔΑΜΜΩΝ Head of Ammon r., horned.

ΚΕΤΤΙCΒΑΑ Α ΔΡ ΙCΤΟΜΑΧΟ ins. ^{VMVTI}ΩΝ Α ΔΗΝΑΙ

City-goddess standing l., wearing turreted crown, chiton, and peplos, holding on r. term of Dionysos, in l. cornucopiae.

Æ ↑, 30 mm., 13.06 g.

M. Aurelius Caesar.

ΔΑΥΡΗ ΔΟΥΗΡΟΚΑΙCΑΡ Bust r., bareheaded, back view.

ΚΜΥΤΙΑΗ ΔΝΑΙΩΝ Apollo standing to front, head l., nude, holding laurel-twigs downwards in r., resting l. on kithara placed on tripod.

Æ ↓, 21 mm., 5.50 g. [Pl. XVI. 11.]

M. Aurelius.

Κ---ΙΜΑΥΡΗΑΙ ΔΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC Bust r. laur., wearing cloak and cuirass. [Round cmk., lyre in dotted circle.]

Κ-----ΔΦΩΝΙ ΑΝΟΥΜΥΤ ex. →ΙΑΗΝΑΙΩΝ Distyle temple-front with acroteria: in pediment, capricorn: within, veiled and draped statue seated to front on high-backed throne.

Æ ↓, 35.5 mm., 23.90 g.

Faustina.

ΚΦΑΥCΤΕΙΝΑ ΔCΕΒΑCΤΗ Bust r. draped.

ΚΜΥΤΙ ΔΗ Ν ΑΙΩΝ Artemis riding l. on stag, wearing short chiton, with r. grasping the stag's horn, holding torch in l.

Æ ↓, 22 mm., 5.32 g. [Pl. XVI. 12.]

J. G. MILNE.

XII.

COINS FROM PETRA, ETC.

[SEE PLATE XVII.]

THE following coins (all of which differ more or less from any published in *B.M.C. Arabia*, &c.) were collected by Mr. A. S. Kirkbride upon the site of Petra, and I have to thank him for permission to note them here. In doing so the inscriptions have been transliterated except where they form the point of difference, when they are strictly reproduced.

Nabatea.

ARETAS IV.

1. *Obv.* Busts of Aretas and Shaqilath r., jugate; above, **UK**; below on r., the letter *shin*.

Rev. Two cornuacopiae crossed and filleted; *HRTT* | *Sh*
QI | *LT*.

Æ ↑ 19.0 mm.; 4.59 gm. Cp. *B.M.C.*, *ibid.*, p. 8, no. 22. [Pl. XVII.]

The first two letters of the word *ShLM* above the head are apparently combined into a monogram.

2. *Obv.* Bust of Aretas IV r., laureate, with long hair.

Rev. Two cornuacopiae crossed and filleted; between them, caduceus; beneath, uncertain letter?

Æ ↑ 18.0 mm.; 1.58 gm. Types of *B.M.C.*, *ibid.*, p. 9, nos. 27-35. [Pl. XVII.]

The reverse seems to imitate the coins struck in A.D. 16/17 by Valerius Gratus as procurator of Judaea.

The reverse types of the following coins of Aretas IV seem quite new:

3. *Obv.* Similar.

Rev. Laurel wreath containing the king's name **ΛΛΙΗ**
(*HRTT*).

Æ ↑ 14.5 mm.; 18.5 gm. [Pl. XVII.]

4. *Obv.* Laurel wreath containing \mathbf{H} (*HR*).
Rev. Eagle with closed wings standing l.; on r. \mathbf{H} (*heth*).
 $\mathbf{\text{Æ}}$ \uparrow 12.0 mm.; 1.27 gm. [Pl. XVII.]
- The second letter of the obverse inscription, which presumably contains the initials of the king's name, is not quite certain; for the eagle cp. the Paris coin cited in *B.M.C.*, *ibid.*, p. xviii.
5. *Obv.* Head of king r., laureate, with long hair; behind, Γ (*tsade*).
Rev. Head of queen r., veiled; on r. \mathbf{H} (*heth*).
 $\mathbf{\text{Æ}}$ \uparrow 10.5 and 11.0 mm.; 1.00 and 1.20 gm. [Pl. XVII.]
- Perhaps Malichus II and Shaqilath II rather than Aretas IV and Shaqilath I.

MALICHUS II AND SHAQILATH II.

Five examples were also obtained of the hitherto unknown coin published by Hill (*B.M.C.*, *ibid.*, p. xx) from the Berlin specimen. Several examples have also come to the British Museum recently, and from one of these, which is very well preserved, it is possible to amplify the description given by Hill of these interesting types.

6. *Obv.* Male figure, standing l.; he is laureate with long hair? and wears cuirass leaving the knees bare; he rests his r. hand on a spear and holds his l. on the handle of a short sword fastened to his side; in field l., palm-branch; on r., the letter *heth*; dotted circle.
- Rev.* Female figure, veiled and draped, in long falling robe, with bracelet on r. wrist; her l. arm is wrapped in her robe, her r. is bent from the elbow, and held up with the fingers extended; below on l., wreath; on r., $\mathbf{Sh\ Q\ |\ IL\ |\ T}$; dotted circle.
- $\mathbf{\text{Æ}}$ \uparrow 14.0 mm.; 2.64 gm. B.M. [Pl. XVII.]

The figure on the reverse is the same as that occurring on bronze coins struck in the name of Aretas IV above (*B.M.C.*, *ibid.*, p. 9, nos. 23-25, Pl. XVII A); the right hand is there described as "holding uncertain object", but comparison with the present variety shows that the hand is simply held up with a bracelet on the wrist, the fingers being strongly emphasized. The detail of the head of the figure on the obverse is not clear; possibly it simply wears a helmet with crest, &c. The

figures represent presumably the king and queen; less probably deities. If the latter, then the male might be compared with the war-god at Rabbathmoba (*B.M.C.*, *ibid.*, p. 44).

PETRA ?

7. *Obv.* IMPMAVRANT  NIN; bust of Elagabalus r.

Rev. Founder ploughing with yoke of oxen, r.; above, inscription (if any) obliterated; in exergue, COLON

Æ ↓ 21.5 mm.; 7.60 grm. [Pl. XVII.]

For other coins of this series reading COLON PETA &c., see *B.M.C.*, *ibid.*, p. xxxviii. The attribution to Petra is there doubted on grounds of fabric. On the present specimen the letters indicating the city-name are lacking (perhaps were never present); but the fabric and style approach much more closely to the previous coins of Petra with Greek inscriptions. The fact that it was found on the site is strong evidence in favour of its attribution to that city, and, with it, of the other coins of similar type but rougher style and fabric, to which it is linked. On the latter the last two letters of the inscription AA are perhaps not blundered but may simply be the initials of titles, e.g. Antoniana Augusta.

UNCERTAIN.

Six specimens were also collected of what appears to be an unknown issue of quasi-barbarous bronze coins, of which there are three other specimens in the Transjordan Museum, also from the site of Petra, and five in the British Museum; the latter with others of the same types were obtained during Sir Flinders Petrie's archaeological campaign at Gaza. Their description is as follows:

- 8-11. *Obv.* Helmeted head r.

Rev. Nike standing l. with open wings, holding wreath in r. and palm in l.?

8. Æ → 14.0 mm.; 2.11 grm. 9. ↑ 17.5 mm.; 3.20 grm. Also 10. ↑ 14.0 mm.; 2.78 grm., Transjordan Museum. 11. ↘ 15.5 mm.; 3.28 grm. B.M. [Pl. XVII.]

These curious coins appear to be imitated from such an original as the bronze of Alexander Bala with the king's head helmeted and a Nike reverse type [Pl.

XVII B],¹ not without influence from the gold stater of Alexander the Great;² there is also some analogy with the bronze coins bearing the latter's name with his head in an elephant's skin on the *obv.* and Nike on the *rev.* (*Perses Achém.*, Pl. VII. 15). The helmet has sometimes the characteristic pot-shape of Bala, sometimes it is closer to the earlier form; occasionally the head gives the impression of not being helmeted at all (no. 9) but of deriving from the Heracles head of the Macedonian coinage. There seems to be no trace of an inscription and the types appear in various stages of disintegration. Characteristic is the rendering of the hair in formal dotted lines—the horsehair of the helmet-crest as well as that of the subject. Their provenance and rough work suggest that these coins may be the earliest issue of the Nabateans, made perhaps in the reign of Aretas II who was in alliance with Gaza, or at any rate before the expansion of the kingdom into Syria which led to the inauguration of a civilized coinage under Aretas III.³

The following coin in the Transjordan Museum also appears to be new:

Obv. ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΥΚΑΙΣΑΡ; bust of Verus r., bareheaded?, in paludamentum; dotted border.

Rev. ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΑΥΡΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟCΕΒC (sic)ΕΥC; M. Aurelius on horseback l., his r. hand raised, carrying eagle-topped standard? (or trophy?) over l. shoulder.

Æ ↓ 22.5 mm.; 10.80 grm. [Pl. XVII.]

The letters of the inscription are not all quite certain, but there appears to be no indication of mint, and the coin perhaps belongs to a special issue made in connexion with Verus's Parthian campaigns of 162-165; cp. the denarii with Greek inscriptions struck probably at Carrhae (*B.M.C., Arabia, &c.*, p. 137).

E. S. G. ROBINSON.

¹ *B.M.C., Seleucid Kings*, p. 55, nos. 51 seqq.

² A coin seen among the uncertain in the Munich collection after this note was in proof is perhaps the earliest of this issue. Its types are very close to the Alexander stater, but the head has the characteristic "pigtales" and Nike has no stylis or palm.

³ Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, i, p. 372.

XIII.

THE SOUTHSEA FIND OF FOURTH-CENTURY SILVER COINS.

IN the spring of 1897, during the digging of clay for brick-making in a field off Lumps Lane, now Eastern Parade, Southsea, about a thousand Roman silver coins were found in a pot. They were declared Treasure Trove and sent to the British Museum, which purchased thirty-six of them. The remainder were afterwards returned to the finder, Mr. H. A. Evans, of "St. Hubert", 6 Helena Road, Southsea, who presented 63, with the pot in which they were found, to the Portsmouth Museum and retained the remainder, which he still has. The pot was of the usual black Roman pottery shape of a water carafe with narrow neck. Similar vessels, but with more open top, were found in the same field, in one instance complete, probably cinerary urns, as the field was exactly opposite Brading Haven, where there was a Roman settlement. The hoard was only just in the top of the brick-earth or clay, and just below the vegetable mould; in fact it had been only a few inches from the plough for some fifteen hundred years.

Mr. Grueber suggested to Mr. Evans that probably the hoard, a fortune in those days, was that of a Roman general at Brading, called back to Rome, but with the hope or intention of returning if possible.

There is a brief account of the find in W. G. Gates, *History of Portsmouth*, 1900, p. 18, where, by a slip, the

find is said to have been made "thirty" instead of "three" years before.

For some reason no account of the find was published at the time. Fortunately Mr. Evans has retained a manuscript account of the find by Mr. H. A. Grueber, who examined the hoard at the Museum, and has kindly allowed me to publish it. I am further indebted to Mr. Evans for the material for these introductory remarks. I have also to acknowledge the help given me in tracing the find by Mr. Harry Sargeant, F.L.A., City Librarian of Portsmouth, and by Mr. Gilbert Askew. Mr. Grueber's description follows.

J. ALLAN.

ANALYSIS OF THE HOARD

Trajan	.	.	.	.	.	2
Antoninus Pius	.	.	.	.	.	2
Faustina Sen.	.	.	.	.	.	1
Marcus Aurelius	.	.	.	.	.	1
Constantine the Great	.	.	.	.	.	1
Crispus	.	.	.	.	.	1
Constantine II	.	.	.	.	.	2
Constans	.	.	.	.	.	28
Constantius II	.	.	.	.	.	403
Magnentius	.	.	.	.	.	4
Decentius	.	.	.	.	.	2
Constantius Gallus	.	.	.	.	.	4
Julian II	.	.	.	.	.	476
						<u>927</u>

All are silver coins as detailed in the following descriptions. From Trajan to Aurelius the coins are denarii; but from Constantine the Great to Julian II the denomination varies according to the weight as follows:

<i>Miliarensis</i>	.	.	.	60 to 80 grs.
<i>Argenteus</i>	.	.	.	40 to 50 grs.
<i>Siliqua</i>	.	.	.	25 to 35 grs.

The find is of especial interest as containing such a large number of silver coins of the middle of the fourth century

A.D. Finds of this class are most unusual in this country, and a careful examination of the hoard will probably throw some light in the changes of the coinage from about A.D. 330-363, especially as regards the coins of fresh denominations. The occurrence of a few early imperial denarii is somewhat remarkable as such pieces must long have passed out of currency. The presence of them is a mere chance; and therefore not of importance. The hoard is that of a private individual.

TRAJAN, A.D. 98-117.

1. *Obv.* IMP TRAIANO AVG GER DAC P M TR P
Head r., laur.
Rev. COS V P P S P Q R OPTIMO PRIN Spes l.
(Cohen, no. 84.)
2. *Obv.* As 1, but legend ends TR P COS V P P
Rev. S P Q R OPTIMO PRINCIPI Abundantia
standing l. (Cohen, no. 467.)

ANTONINUS PIUS, A.D. 138-161.

3. *Obv.* ANTONINVS AVG PIVS P P T R P XII
Head r., laur.
Rev. COS IIII• Vesta standing l., sacrificing at altar.
(Cohen, no. 199.)
4. *Obv.* As 3, but legend ends TR P XI
Rev. TQOT XIII COS IIII in ex. PILTAS Pietas
standing r., holding a goat and a basket of fruit;
before her, altar; blundered. (Cf. Cohen, no. 616.)

FAUSTINA SENR., A.D. 138-141.

5. *Obv.* DIVA FAVSTINA Bust r., draped.
Rev. AVGVSTA Ceres standing l., holding ears of
corn and torch. (Cohen, no. 84.)

MARCUS AURELIUS, A.D. 161-180.

6. *Obv.* M ANTONINVS AVG ARM PARTH MAX
Head r., laur.
Rev. TR P XXI IMP IIII COS III Aequitas standing
l., holding scales and cornucopiae. (Cohen, no. 882.)

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT, A.D. 306-337.

7. *Obv.* CONSTANTINVS MAX AVG Bust r., diad. and draped.

Rev. CONSTANTINVS AVG Three standards: in ex. SMTR. (Cohen, no. 100.) Wt. 69.5 grs.

CRISPUS, A.D. 317-326.

8. *Obv.* D N CRISPVS NOB CAESAR Bust r., diad. and cuir.

Rev. FELICITAS ROMANORVM Four male figures armed, each holding sceptre, standing under an arch: in ex. SMN. Wt. 73 grs.

CONSTANTINE II, A.D. 337-340.

(as Caesar)

9. *Obv.* CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB CAES Bust r., diad. and draped.

Rev. VICTORIA CAESAR NN Victory turning to l. with wreath and palm: in ex. M TS. Wt. 49 grs.

(as Augustus)

10. *Obv.* Head of Emperor to r., diad.: no legend.

Rev. CONSTANTINVS AVG Victory running to l., with wreath and palm; before her M: in ex. CONS Δ. (Cf. Cohen, no. 65.) Wt. 49 grs.

CONSTANS, A.D. 337-350.

- 11-12. *Obv.* FL IVL CONSTANS P F AVG Bust r., diad., draped, and cuir.

Rev. TRIUMFATOR GENTIVM BARBARARVM Emperor standing l., resting l. hand on shield and holding in r. a vexillum: in ex. TES. (Cohen, no. 114.) Wt. 65 and 67 grs.

13. *Obv.* Similar.

Rev. VICTORIAE D D N N AVGG Victory seated r., inscribing VOT X MVLT XX on shield: in ex. *AQ. (Var. of Cohen, no. 163.) Wt. 61 grs.

14. *Obv.* Similar, but bust smaller.

Rev. VIRTVS D D N N AVGG Emperor standing towards l., holding labarum in r. hand: in ex. TR. (Cohen, no. 189.) Wt. 87 grs.

15-84. *Obv.* FL IVL CONSTANS P F AVG Bust r., diad., draped, and cuir.

Rev. VICTORIA DD NN AVGG Victory walking l., bearing wreath and palm: in ex. TR. (Cohen, no. 152.) Wt. 47-40 grs.

35-36. *Obv.* Same, but legend CONSTANS P F AVG

Rev. Same as last, but Victory bears a trophy: in ex. TES. (Cohen, no. 156.) Wt. 45 grs.

37. *Obv.* FL IVL CONSTANS P F AVG Bust r., diad., draped, and cuir.

Rev. VICTORIAE D N AVG Two Victories holding up a shield inscribed VOT X MVLTV: in ex. AQ. (Cohen, no. 160.) Wt. 44 grs.

38. *Obv.* Same, but in ex. on rev. TR. Wt. 46 grs.

CONSTANTIUS II, A.D. 337-361.

(as Augustus)

39. *Obv.* D N CONSTANTIVS MAX AVG Bust r., diad. and cuir.

Rev. CONSTANTIVS AVG Four standards: in ex. CB. (Cohen, no. 9.) Wt. 84 grs.

40-41. *Obv.* FL IVL CONSTANTIVS PERP AVG Bust r., diad., draped, and cuir.

Rev. Same, but in ex. PCON. (Cohen, no. 7.) Wt. 82 and 84 grs.

42. Same, but in ex. on the rev. SCON. Wt. 80 grs.

43-45. *Obv.* **D N CONSTANTIVS P F AVG** Bust r., diad., draped, and cuir.

Rev. **FELICITAS ROMANORVM** Two military figures holding spears, standing under an arch: in ex. **SIRM** or **•SIRM•** (Cohen, no. 4.) Wt. 67 (nos. 43, 44), and 68 (no. 45) grs.

46. *Obv.* **FL IVL CONSTANTIVS P F AVG** Bust r., diad., draped, and cuir.

Rev. **PAX AVGVSTORVM** Emperor standing l., holding the labarum with r. hand: in ex. **TR**. (Cf. Cohen, nos. 149-150.) Wt. 58 grs.

47-48. *Obv.* Similar to preceding, but bust larger and older.

Rev. **TRIVMFATOR GENTIVM BARBARARVM** Emperor standing l., holding vexillum and shield: in ex. **TES**. (Cohen, no. 192.) Wt. 67 and 68 grs.

49-52. *Obv.* **D N CONSTANTIVS P F AVG** Bust r., diad., draped, and cuir.

Rev. **VIRTVS EXERCITVS** Soldier standing towards r., holding reversed spear and shield: in ex. **CA**. (Cohen, no. 326.) Wt. 67 to 69 grs. This is also the average weights of nos. 53-82.

53-54. Same, but in ex. on rev. **PCON**.

55-57. Same, but in ex. on rev. **SCON**.

58-60. Same, but in ex. on rev. **LVG**.

61-68. Same, but in ex. on rev. **R**.

69-79. Same, but in ex. on rev. **TES**.

80-82. Same, but mint-mark uncertain.

83. *Obv.* **D N CONSTANTIVS P F AVG** Bust r., diad., draped, and cuir.

Rev. **FELICITAS PERPETVA** Victory walking l., holding wreath and trophy: in ex. **AQ**. (Cohen, no. 60.) Wt. 51 grs.

84. *Obv.* As preceding.
- Rev.* VICTORIA D D N N AVGG Victory walking l., bearing wreath and palm: in ex. PARL. (Var. of Cohen, no. 259.) Wt. 52 grs.
- 85-86. *Obv.* FL IVL CONSTANTIVS P F AVG Bust r., diad., draped, and cuir.
- Rev.* VICTORIA D D N N AVGG Victory walking l., bearing wreath and palm and dragging captive by the hair: in ex. R. (Cohen, no. 268.) Wt. 45 grs.
87. *Obv.* D M CONSTANTIVS P F AVG Bust r., diad., draped, and cuir.
- Rev.* Within a wreath VOT XXX MVLTVS XXXX; below SCON. (Cf. Cohen, no. 336.) Wt. 44 grs.
88. Same, but reading on rev. VOTIS XXX MVLTVS XXXX; below PARL. (Cf. Cohen, nos. 342-343.) Wt. 49 grs.
89. Same, but below wreath on the rev. CS (Constantina Secunda). Wt. 50 grs.
- 90-94. Same, but below wreath on rev. PCON. Wt. 46-52 grs.
- 95-98. Same, but below wreath on rev. SCON. Wt. 49-58 grs.
- 99-103. Same, but below wreath on rev. TCON. Wt. 46-50 grs.
- 104-106. Same, but below wreath on rev. LVG. Wt. 48-52 grs.
- 107-108. Same, but below wreath on rev. SIRM. Wt. 48 and 50 grs.
109. Same, but bust r., diad., no drapery, and on rev. the mint-mark SMN. Wt. 49 grs.
110. Uncertain mint. Wt. 49 grs.

- 111-135. Same as no. 84, but legend ending **AVG** for **AVGG**, and on rev. in ex. **LVG**. Average wt. 34 grs.
136. Same, but mint-mark **TES**. Wt. 33 grs.
137. Same, but mint-mark **TR**. Wt. 34 grs.
138. Same as no. 87, reading **VOT XXX MVL TIS XXXX**, and below wreath mint-mark **R**. Wt. 34 grs.
139. Same, but reading **VOTI XXX MVL TIS XXXX**, below wreath mint-mark **CON**. Wt. 33 grs.
140. Same as no. 88, but reading **VOTIS XXX MVL TIS XXXX**, below wreath mint-mark **PARL**. (Cf. Cohen, nos. 342-343.) Wt. 30 grs.
- 141-145. Same, but below wreath mint-mark **CON**. The weights for nos. 140 to 441 run from 30 to 35 grs.
- 146-223. Same, but mint-mark **PCON**.
- 224-297. Same, but mint-mark **SCON**.
- 298-423. Same, but mint-mark **LVG**.
- 424-440. Same, but mint-marks uncertain.
441. Same as no. 109, with bust r., &c.; but mint-mark **TES**.

MAGNENTIUS, A.D. 350-353.

442. *Obv.* **D N MAGNENTIVS P F AVG** Bust r., head bare, draped and cuir.
- Rev.* **FELICITAS PERPETVA** Within wreath **VOT V MVL T X**; below **LX AQ**. Wt. 79 grs.

443. *Obv.* D N MAGNENTIVS AVG Bust r., as on preceding.

Rev. FELICITAS PERPETVA Victory walking l., holding a wreath and trophy: in ex. PAR. (Cohen, no. 3.) Wt. 60 grs.

444. *Obv.* IM CAE MAGNENTIVS AVG Bust r., as no. 442.

Rev. VIRTVS AVG NOSTRI Magnentius standing towards l., holding globe and sceptre: in ex. TR. (Cohen, no. 75.) Wt. 67 grs.

445. *Obv.* D N MAGNENTIVS P F AVG Bust r., as no. 442.

Rev. VIRTVS EXERCITI Virtus, holding spear reversed and shield, standing towards r.: in ex. TR. (Cohen, no. 81.) Wt. 52 grs.

DECENTIUS, A.D. 330-353?

446-447. *Obv.* D N DECENTIVS FORT CAES Bust r., head bare, draped and cuir.

Rev. VIRTVS EXERCITI Virtus, holding spear and shield, standing towards r.: in ex. TR. (Cohen, no. 49.) Wt. 51 and 52 grs.

CONSTANTIUS GALLUS, c. A.D. 350.

(as Caesar)

448-449. *Obv.* D N CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES Head r., bare, no drapery.

Rev. FELICITAS ROMANORVM Two emperors, each holding spear and globe, standing under an arch: in ex. SIRM. (Cohen, no. 19.) Wt. 67 grs.

450. *Obv.* D N CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES Bust r., head bare, draped and cuir.

Rev. VIRTVS EXERCITVS Soldier standing towards r., holding rev. spear and shield; strap over l. shoulder: in ex. TES. Wt. 69 grs.

451. *Obv.* D N CONSTANTIVS P F AVG Bust
r., diad., draped, and cuir.

Rev. Within wreath VOTIS V MVLTIS X;
below SCON. Wt. 33 grs. (A mule—*obr.*
Constantius II, *rev.* Gallus.)

JULIAN II, A.D. 361-363.

(as Caesar)

452. *Obv.* FL CL IVLIANVS NOB CAES Bust
r., head bare, draped and cuir.

Rev. D N IVLIANVS NOB CAES Three
standards: in ex. TCON. (Cohen, no. 6.)
Wt. 77 grs.

453-454. *Obv.* FL CL IVLIANVS NOB CAES Bust
r., &c., as on preceding.

Rev. Star within wreath: below TCON. (Cohen,
no. 170.) Wt. 49 and 50 grs.

455-519. *Obv.* D N IVLIANVS NOB CAES Bust r.,
as no. 452.

Rev. Within wreath VOTIS V MVLTIS X;
below TCON. (Cohen, no. 154.) Wt. 32-
34 grs.

520. Same type and legends as no. 453, but below
wreath PCON. (Cohen, no. 170.) Wt.
35 grs.

521. Same, but legend on *obv.* blundered, and on
rev. under wreath TR. Wt. 22 grs.

(as Augustus)

522. *Obv.* D N IVLIANVS P F AVG Bust r.,
diad., draped, and cuir.

Rev. VIRTVS EXERCITVM Emperor stand-
ing, but looking towards r., and holding *rev.*
spear and shield: in ex. SCON. Wt.
70 grs.

523. *Obv.* FL CL IVLIANVS PERP AVG Bust r., as on preceding.
Rev. VIRTVS EXERCITVS Emperor standing and looking r., &c., as the last: in ex. LVG. (Cohen, no. 74.) Wt. 67 grs.
524. *Obv.* D N FL CL IVLIANVS P F AVG Bust r., bearded, diad., draped, and cuir.
Rev. Similar to the preceding, but in field before the Emperor, eagle with wreath in its beak: in ex. PCONST. Wt. 62 grs.
- 525-526. Same, but in ex. on rev. TCONST. Wt. 71 and 67 grs.
- 527-565. *Obv.* FL CL IVLIANVS P P AVG Bust r., diad., draped, and cuir.
Rev. VICTORIA DD NN AVG Victory walking l., holding wreath and palm: in ex. LVG. (Cohen, no. 59.) Wt. 30-35 grs.
566. Similar, but legend on rev. VICTONI AONVM, and before Victory palm: in ex. SIS (*barbarous*). Wt. 25 grs.
567. *Obv.* D N CL IVLIANVS AVG Bust r., diad., draped, and cuir.
Rev. Within wreath VOTIS V MVLTI X; below CONT. (var. Cohen, no. 157.) Wt. 30 grs.
- 568-569. Same, but under wreath on rev. PCON. Wt. 30 and 31 grs.
- 570-571. Same, but under wreath SCON. Wt. 27 and 30 grs.
- 572-599. Same, but under wreath TCON.
 From this number to the end the coins vary in weights from 25 to 34 grs.
- 600-604. Same, but *obv.* legend D N IVLIANVS P F AVG, and on *rev.* under wreath PCON. (Cohen, no. 160.)

- 605-614. Same, but under wreath **SCON**.
- 615-630. Same, but under wreath **TCON**.
- 631-760. Same, but obv. legend **FL CL IVLIANVS P P AVG**; and on rev. under wreath **LVG**.
- 761-770. Same, but under wreath **PLVG**.
- 771-777. Same, but under wreath **SLVG**.
- 778-779. Same, but obv. legend **D N CL IVLIANVS AVG**; and on rev. under wreath **R**.
- 780-882. Same, but under wreath **TR**.
883. Same, but obv. legend **FL CL IVLIANVS P F AVG**; and on rev. under wreath **TR**. (Cohen, no. 159.)
884. Same, but obv. legend **FL CL IVLIANVS AVG**; and on rev. under wreath **TR**.
- 885-925. Similar to no. 567, but mint letters illegible.
Obv. **FL CL IVLIANVS AVG** Bust r., laur., draped, and cuir.
Rev. Within wreath **VOTS XXX MVLTS XXXX**; below **CON**.
926. *Obv.* **DN CL IVLIANVS AVG** Bust r., diad., draped, and cuir.
Rev. Within wreath **VOTIS XXX MVLTI XXXX**. (Cf. Cohen, no. 166-167.)

H. A. GRUEBER.

the legends of the one rare coin:—*Obv.* EDWTR R
TRIGL DHS · hYB. *Rev.* CIVITTS LONDON. The
coin is badly struck, and it is uncertain whether the
usual pellet stops were present on the obverse after the
first and second R.

There were no coins of class I, the first issue of
Edward I. Class II, the earliest in the hoard, begins in
January 1280. There were no coins of classes VI, VII,
or VIII, all of these classes being comparatively scarce.
All pennies of class XVd are of great rarity except
those of York. An abstract of the mint accounts will
show why.

Totals of silver coined at London: 4 Feb.–29 Sept.
1327, £60; 14 Feb.–29 Sept. 1329, £387: 30
Sept. 1329–29 Sept. 1330, £60.

Total of silver coined at Canterbury: 30 Sept.
1328–16 Feb. 1329, £48. 4s. 1d.; 16 Feb.–29
Sept. 1329, £94. 14s. 5½d.; 19 Jan.–29 Sept.
1331, £630.

The mint accounts for Durham and York are not
available, and apparently cannot be found in spite of
extensive searches in London, Durham, and York. We
know from the researches of Messrs. Fox that coins of
class XVd were struck at York in 1331. We also
know from the similarity of style and lettering that
the mint of Durham was at work about the same time.
A die was ordered for Bury St. Edmunds in 1328, and
we have two coins of the same class from this mint
which were found long ago at Montrose and agree
in all respects with the coins of the three other mints.
The mint accounts only mention halfpence and
farthings between 1331 and 1344; we may conclude

therefore that no pence were being struck between these dates at London or Canterbury nor probably at the other mints. From May 1335 the halfpence and farthings were debased to 10 oz. fine. From September 1332 to May 1335 only farthings were struck. It is hoped that this summary of the facts will help to solve the date of the Durham pennies of group XV d, all of which bear a crown in the centre of the reverse. Messrs. Fox considered them the first issue of Richard de Bury, elected Bishop of Durham at the end of 1333. Others, myself included, believe they were the last issue of Bishop Beaumont, although instead of Beaumont's lion they bear as initial mark a cross.

Perhaps the most interesting part of the find is the bronze jug in which the hoard was buried. The spout was broken in two places and has been repaired with pewter since its discovery. Those better able to judge than I am consider it to be British. Mr. Reginald Smith, the Keeper of the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities in the British Museum, showed me the picture of a bronze jug of exactly the same form, but two feet high, which was discovered in the palace of King Prempeh of Ashanti during the war of 1883. This jug, which is highly ornamented and bears the arms of Richard II, is probably of British manufacture. The hoard dates the present jug to before 1345; the Richard II jug, however, cannot have been made earlier than 1377, the date of Richard's accession.

My natural curiosity led me to look inside the jug, and there with the aid of a torch I could see impressions of some of the coins which had been in it. They were too near the base and too indistinct for me to be

able to identify more than the shape of any coin, but a photograph of part of the inside taken by Mr. Waterhouse at the British Museum revealed an impression of the obverse probably of an Edward penny. There were no impressions of coins on the base of the jug, in which there was a small hole. This hole probably admitted sufficient moisture from the ground to prevent impressions from being formed.

L. A. LAWRENCE.

A NOTE ON THE JUG.



Scale $\frac{1}{2}$.

The bronze jug which contained the coins is 7 in. high, and complete except for parts of the rim and spout. The vessel has a tall neck with beaten-out tubular spout down its whole length, a globular body, and sagging base. There is a cordon in low relief on the neck, and a shallow groove round the upper part of the body. In form it closely resembles the large bronze jug, with separate lid, of the

time of Richard II (*British Museum Guide to Medieval Antiquities*, p. 241, fig. 156). In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the jugs have the same general form, but the spout is either restricted to a small lip or absent, the base is flat, and usually the lid is hinged. Several jugs of this later type are illustrated by S. Grieg, *Middelalderske Byfund fra Bergen og Oslo*, pp. 127-140, figs. 76-101.

G. C. DUNNING.

XV.

NOTES ON THE SOCIETY'S HISTORY.

THIS being the centenary year of the Society perhaps a few notes on bygone days may not be amiss. The Society came into existence in consequence of the difficulty of finding time at the Society of Antiquaries for discussing numismatics in all its ramifications. Two preliminary meetings were held in 1836, one on June 27, the other on December 1, at the house of Dr. John Lee in Doctor's Commons. There were present: Dr. Lee, Edward Hawkins, C. F. Barnwell, Captain W. H. Smith, Sir Henry Ellis (Principal Librarian of the British Museum), Thomas Burgon, William Wyon, W. H. Haggard, and J. Y. Akerman. Nearly all these gentlemen were fellows of the Society of Antiquaries, and they, appreciating the difficulties of the situation, resolved on the formation of a Numismatic Society. Dr. Lee was in the chair at these two preliminary meetings. The next meeting was held on December 22, 1836, in the apartments of the Royal Astronomical Society, Somerset House; at this the formation of a Numismatic Society was decided upon. The first ordinary meeting was held on January 26, 1837. Dr. Lee was elected the first President, and Mr. J. Y. Akerman the first Secretary, and the gentlemen above named formed the Council. An annual subscription of one guinea was ordered. The society started with nearly one hundred members. The list is to be found in the *Numismatic Journal*, vol. i. It is

interesting to compare the accounts of the first year (1837) with those of the year just concluded, 1935. The guinea subscription in 1837 brought in £97 5s. 1d. from 93 members: the expenditure was £30 5s. 1d.

In 1935 the number of Fellows was 227 and £337 11s. 6d. came from their subscriptions (at £2 2s.) and their entrance fees. Other receipts totalized £189 1s. 7d., and the expenditure amounted to £342 11s. 4d. The Society now holds about £1,200 worth of securities.

The name of the Society was originally "The Numismatic Society", but from 1861 it became "The Numismatic Society of London"; when a charter was granted in March 1904, it became "The Royal Numismatic Society" and the members became Fellows.

The Society is certainly the oldest one in this country dealing with coins, and, with the possible exception of France, the oldest in the world.

From the beginning matters went well with the Society, the membership increased, and the meetings were well attended. The volumes of the *Chronicle* attest the interest taken in the various series of world coinage.

Much attention was given to our own English coinage and nearly as much to Rome and Greece.

The Society, as has been said, used to meet in the rooms of the Royal Astronomical Society; then in the rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society at 22 Albemarle Street. It was here in 1885 that I first made the acquaintance of this learned body. Judging by the papers in the *Chronicle* the English coinage was in the forefront of the Society for some twenty years before my time, as one finds the names of Sir John Evans,

Montagu, Longstaffe, Neck, and Christmas constantly recurring.

Sir John Evans was elected a member in 1849. From 1856 to 1873 he was Secretary, and from then onwards until 1908 he was President of the Society. There is an obituary notice of him in the *Chronicle* for 1908. His work on the Ancient British Coins is too well known to require notice here. That on the Short Cross question may not be so well known, but the expert way in which Sir John worked out the sequence of types is most appealing. It was he who showed for the first time that there were English coins of both Richard I and John. The classification of the coins, with some slight readjustment, is that which numismatists use to-day. Sir John was a fine, tall, up-standing man. As a President he ruled the Society as a President should. Some of the younger members of the Society, among whom I include myself, stood somewhat in awe of him until acquaintance ripened into friendship.

Montagu, the then Vice-President, was the very antithesis of the President—his shortness was thrown into relief by the President's stature. He, too, wrote well on the Plantagenet and Tudor periods.

I never knew Longstaffe, the numismatist of the north. His papers, however, on the Short Cross question are well worth reading even now.

F. J. Neck was another writer whose work always appealed to me. He was an old man when I was a young one. I only saw him once, when I called on him shortly before his death. He was the writer who made the first advance in distinguishing the coins which were then called Henry IV, V, VI.

One other notable member was Sir Hermann Weber. He was a great collector of Greek coins, as Mr. Forrer's notable catalogue of his collection shows. In person he, too, was tall, and it made one happy to look at his smiling face. What an asset for a doctor!

The members of the staff of the Metal Room at the British Museum have always been to the fore in the Society. Sir Henry Ellis, the Principal Librarian, and Edward Hawkins, the Keeper of the Coins, it will be remembered were among the founders. Practically all the Keepers' names occur in the lists of members. The Secretaryship is usually recruited from the Museum, and at least one Editor has his official work there. This arrangement has helped to make the *Numismatic Chronicle* what it is. A word about the *Chronicle* itself. The first publication of the Society was called the *Numismatic Journal*. There were two volumes under this title edited by J. Y. Akerman; these contained the papers read, &c., for the years June 1836–April 1837, June 1837–April 1838. Then came the Proceedings, 1836–7, 1837–8, 1838–9, published in 1838, 1839, and 1840, and finally vol. i of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, June 1838–April 1839, published in 1839. On the conclusion of vol. xx for April 1857–January 1858, published in 1859, a new series was begun which ran from January to December. As a result no volume bears the date 1860, but the Proceedings for 1859–60 were issued with vol. i of the new series.

L. A. LAWRENCE.

MISCELLANEA.

THE CLEEVE PRIOR HOARD OF 1811.

One of the greater tragedies in the study of late fourth-century Roman coins in Britain is the fate which seems to have befallen the great find of 1811 at Cleeve Prior in Worcestershire. Various persons have endeavoured to disentangle the meagre accounts which have survived. Haverfield summed up the evidence in the *Victoria County History* (i. 217) when he had at his disposal not only Allies, *Antiquities of Worcestershire* (2nd ed., 1852), 91-94; May, *History of Evesham*, p. 363; R. F. Tones, *Contributions towards a History of the Parish of Cleeve Prior*, and the accounts in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1811 (2, p. 505) and 1814 (1, p. 87), and in *Archæologia*, xvii. 329, but also additional material which Mr. E. A. B. Barnard¹ had collected in *Evesham and Four Shires Notes and Queries*, ii. 219-221. The latter there quotes a letter from Mr. C. H. Heywood, who claimed to have been present at the finding of the hoard, and a paragraph from *Berrow's Worcester Journal* of October 31, 1811. The same paragraph appeared also in *Cheltenham Chronicle* for November 7, 1811, and a later entry in *Berrow's Worcester Journal* (December 12, 1811) runs as follows: "It is said that the coins which were lately found at Cleeve Prior, near Evesham, are worth at least £600. It seems that the Lord of the Manor had no claim upon the treasure, as it is what is called treasure-trove, and consequently belongs, if claimed, to the Crown." A copy of this extract is included with extracts from the authorities already cited and transcripts from the Prattinton MSS., which will be referred to below, in a collection which Dr. H. H. E. Craster has recently placed in the hands of the present writer. These are Haverfield's notes and they have now been placed with the Haverfield MSS. in the Haverfield Library, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Mr. H. J. Small of Bengeworth, Evesham, has very kindly made more recent inquiries, but little further information

¹ The writer is indebted to Mr. Barnard for this reference, also for that to *Trans. Birm. and Midland Inst.*, xli. 24-25.

seems now to be available, although there is a tradition that a very nice set of Worcester china, which was in the possession of the family of the finder, was bought with the money obtained from the sale of the coins. The British Museum registers do not show that any of the coins found their way to the national collection.

The Haverfield MSS., which have been referred to, consist of sundry lists of collections of Cleeve Prior coins, mainly those to be found in the Prattinton MSS. As the latter are available in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, the material is here printed only in abstract. It should be noted that one MS. states that: "The Chapter took 7 gold coins and 12 silver ones; as an acknowledgement of their rights as lords of the manor. 1811. MS. of Dean Onslow. 400 gold 2000 silver coins in 2 earthen vases."

Prattinton (vii. 32) gives the following as Mr. Ruding's coins (all *Æ*): Constantius II 4, Julian 2, Valentinian I 2, Valens 7, Gratian 4, Theodosius I 1, Magnus Maximus 3. Another Gratian *Æ* is mentioned separately.

"In possession of W. Hamper, Birmingham, 1812" there are mentioned: All *Æ*. Constantius II 2, Julian 4, Valentinian I 1, Valens 3, Gratian 2, Valentinian II 2, Theodosius I 1, Magnus Maximus 1.

Under "Silver denarii found at Cleeve Prior. W. H. has seen the following", these are: Julian 2, Valentinian I 2, Valens 1, Gratian 1, Theodosius I 1, Magnus Maximus 3 "in possession of Mr. Millington", and Constantius II 1, Valentinian II 1 "in possession of W. Hamper". The two last are the same as two in the preceding paragraph, according to type and mint-mark, and are not included in the summary below.

Finally (Prattinton vii. 36) there is a list, which occurs in precisely the same form in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, (1811 (2), 506); *N*. Valentinian I 2, Gratian 1, Valentinian II 1, Theodosius I 1; *Æ*. Constantius II 1, Julian 3, Valentinian I 2, Gratian 1, Theodosius I 2, Valentinian II 1,² Magnus Maximus 1.

A letter to Haverfield from G. L. Eades, The Lodge, Evesham, gives the following as in the latter's possession at that time (May 10, 1901): All *Æ*. Constantius II 82, Valens 4, Gratian 2, Theodosius I 1, Magnus Maximus 3, Honorius 1.

Lee's, *Isca Silurum* (pp. 81-82) gives the following (all *Æ*) from Cleeve Prior in the Caerleon Museum: Constantius II 1,

² Reading IVN for IM.

Magnentius (*sic*) [*Virtus Romanorum*, TRPS] 1, Julian 1, Valentinian II 2, Magnus Maximus 1, Victor 1.

With the exception of the two in Mr. Hamper's collection, which are mentioned above, it does not seem that these lists overlap, since the items can almost invariably be checked by means of the mint-marks specified. It is, therefore, possible to give the totals, omitting the Magnentius, which is no doubt a mistake. They are as follows:—

	N.	Al.	Total.
Constantius II	—	10	10
Julian	—	12	12
Valentinian I	2	7	9
Valens	—	15	15
Gratian	1	11	12
Valentinian II	1	5	6
Theodosius I	1	6	7
Magnus Maximus	—	12	12
Victor	—	1	1
Honorius	—	1	1
	<u>5</u>	<u>80</u>	<u>85</u>

It is, of course, impossible to draw any conclusions from such a small remnant of a large hoard, but it may be noted that there is only one coin of Honorius, that from Mr. Eade's collection. There were doubtless others of this emperor in the hoard, which are now lost, but the single coin allows the find to be included amongst Theodosian hoards, as the writer has already placed it in the *Archaeological Journal*.³

B. H. ST. J. O'NEIL.

THREE ROMAN COIN-HOARDS.

(i) *Kirkham, Lancs.*

A reference occurs in the *Journal of Roman Studies*, 1924, p. 222, to a small hoard found at Kirkham and now in the possession of Mr. R. H. Bowdler, of Oxford. By the kindness of its owner this hoard was deposited on loan in the Ashmolean Museum, together with the pot in which the coins were found: and, as it has been possible to re-examine the

³ xc. 302-303.

coins thoroughly, it seems desirable that a corrected list of them should be printed.

The receptacle of the hoard was a Samian *olla*, 3 in. high and $3\frac{3}{8}$ in. in diameter, of form Déchelette 67 (probably of Flavian date and South Gaulish origin), and this vessel, at the time when it was placed in the Ashmolean, contained 44 coins which purported to constitute a hoard ranging from Augustus to Honorius. Certain of these coins were, however, quite clearly intruders from other sources, introduced after the discovery of the original hoard: as intruders it is possible to recognize and segregate 2 *Æ* Greek, 2 *Æ* Gallienus, 1 false *At* Honorius, and, probably, 1 billon each of Trajan Decius and Alexander Severus (the latter of "Consecratio" type) besides 1 *At* Octavian. The remainder of the coins are now, with one exception (an *Æ semis* of Nero), all *denarii* of good quality, ranging from Tiberius to Balbinus, with a frequency peak, normally enough, in the reign of Septimius Severus. The series runs as follows:—

1 Tiberius	1 L. Verus
1 Nero	2 Faustina ii
1 Otho	2 Commodus
3 Vespasian	6 Septimius Severus
1 Domitian	2 Caracalla
2 Nerva	1 Macrinus
1 Trajan	4 Severus Alexander
2 Hadrian	1 Balbinus
3 Antoninus Pius	—
2 Faustina i	36
	==

If the limits here suggested for this "reconstructed" Kirkham hoard are correct (and they are supported by the wear of the coins), this hoard, virtually composed of *denarii* alone, is yet another example of that tendency to resist the spread of the *antoninianus* which has already been illustrated by deposits from E. Anglia (? = Colchester),¹ Denbighshire,² St. Mary Cray,³ Falkirk⁴ and, in Lancashire itself, Ribchester⁵ and Upper Holker.⁶ The new denomination (first introduced by Caracalla, abandoned by Severus Alexander, but finally adopted to the exclusion of the *denarius* by Gordian iii) masqueraded as a coin of more than its intrinsic

¹ *Num. Chron.* 1898, pp. 126 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, 1935, pp. 62 ff.

⁵ Watkin, *Roman Lancashire*, p. 232.

² *Ibid.*, 1923, pp. 153 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1934, pp. 1 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 234 f.

value, and was not unnaturally suspect. The not uncommon phenomenon of the production of *denarii* in Britain from clay moulds is, of course, attributable to the same antipathy.

This hoard was probably concealed about A.D. 238: the single coin of Balbinus is very fresh. Details of the coins are as follows:

Æ: 1 Nero (M. and S. 379 [*obv.* 1.]).

AR: 1 Tiberius (M. and S. 3), 1 Otho (M. and S. 12 [*obv.* 3]), Vespasian (M. and S. 7, 109 [*obv.* 1.], 118), 1 Domitian (M. and S. 40—*plated*), 2 Nerva (M. and S. 4, 23), 1 Trajan (M. and S. 243), 2 Hadrian (M. and S. 198 d, 233 d), 3 Antoninus Pius (M. and S. 156, 175, 264—the latter base and possibly cast), 2 Faustina i (M. and S. 338, 362), 1 L. Verus (M. and S. 516), 2 Faustina ii (M. and S. 507, 729), 2 Commodus (both M. and S. 241), 6 Septimius Severus (Coh. 64, 471, 535 [*stabbed*], 791, and Coh., *Caracalla*, 175, 658—the latter *plated*), 2 Caracalla (Coh. 211 and Coh., *Geta*, 68—very base metal), 1 Macrinus (Coh. 108), 4 Severus Alexander (Coh. 9, 204, 236, and Coh., *Mamæa*, 17), 1 Balbinus (Coh. 27). Total, 36.

(ii) *Compton Cowdown, near Ilsley, Berks.*

The Catalogue of Donations to the Ashmolean Museum, 1836–1868, includes (p. 18) the following reference:—

“FRAGMENTS OF A ROMAN URN, discovered in grubbing wood below Compton Cowdown, near Ilsley, Berks, 1852. In it were about 500 silvered coins, principally of about the period of Cassianus (*sic*) and Victorinus. A portion of the coins are deposited with the urn.”

This, it would seem, is the same hoard as that already recorded, though with less detail, in the *Victoria County History*, Berks, i, p. 205. The pottery fragments, still in the Ashmolean, have recently been put together and, though no fragment of rim survives, they form the larger part of the globular body of a vessel, some 5 in. in diameter and perhaps 4 in. high, made of smooth grey ware. The pot was doubtless broken in the act of discovery.

Search among the Ashmolean collection reveals no coins which can with certainty be attributed to this Ilsley hoard, and though there is a considerable number of coins, of both Postumus and Victorinus, which form close “sets” and show

identical patination, it is evidently impossible to pick out the coins in question. As far as can be deduced, the hoard was buried about A.D. 270, for the catalogue-entry makes no mention of any coins of the Tetrici; having been composed chiefly of coins of Postumus or Victorinus, it may perhaps have been comparable with the hoards found at Selsey,⁷ Luton,⁸ and Stiffkey,⁹ in all three of which the coins of these two emperors together predominate over all others.

(iii) *Long Wittenham, Berks. (?)*

Among the Clutterbuck collection of antiquities, formed for the most part locally in and around Long Wittenham, and now in the Ashmolean, there are a number of coins which, it is clear, once composed a hoard, or part of a hoard, and of which no published account seems to exist. The coins are somewhat heavily overlaid by a green oxide which, though it makes identification difficult or impossible in certain cases, establishes for certain the common origin of the coins. It is very likely that the hoard, as it now stands, is incomplete; of its 102 coins, Gallienus and his wife (40) and Claudius Gothicus (44) account for 84, and over and above 14 more coins which belong almost certainly to one or other of these emperors there are left only 2 of Quintillus, 1 of Aurelian, and 1 of Victorinus. The details are as follows:—

Gallienus (38). M. and S. 157, 157 κ (3 coins), 160, 163 ($\frac{1}{Z}$), 164, uncertain of 163–167, 177, 178 (left), 182, 193 (3 coins: one \perp , two \perp S), 210 κ ($\nabla \perp$), 214, var. of 225 with *obv.* 5 A and *rev.* $\frac{1}{XII}$, ? 227 κ ($S \perp$), 236 A ($A \perp$), 236 κ ($H \perp$), 252 ($N \perp$), 256 F, as 270, 277, 283 and 283 κ (both $\frac{1}{H}$), 287, var. of 287 with *rev.* -ITAS but *obv.* leg. 8, 321, var. of 330 with same *rev.* and m.m. but *obv.* 8 κ, ? 534 F, 572 ($B \perp$) and 6 uncertain.

Salonina (2). Both uncertain.

⁷ *Num. Chron.* 1933, pp. 223 ff.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1863, pp. 112 ff.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 1931, pp. 316 ff.

Claudius ii (44). M. and S. 14 or 15 A (\square), as 15 K (but \square S), 18 or 19 (3 coins: two \square Δ), 32 or 33 K (\square B), ?41, 42 K, 46 (2 coins: one \square Γ), 47, 55 (\square N), 61, 62 or 63, 68 or 69 (2 coins, but one **PACIFERO**), 94 (\square S), 98 F, 99 (2 coins), 105 A and K, 104 or 105 (2 coins), 110, 163 A, 259, as 259 ff. (7 coins), 261 (\square), 266 K ($\frac{1}{11}$), 7 uncertain and (probably) 1 barbarous *Consecratio* (Altar) type.

Quintillus (2). M. and S. 9, 14 (but \square Δ).

Aurelian (1). M. and S. 73 E ($\frac{1}{A}$)—a *denarius*.

Victorinus (1). Contemporary copy of *Salus* type on a very thick flan.

Uncertain (14). All probably either of Gallienus or Claudius ii.

Total, 102.

Although the probably incomplete nature of this hoard prevents any comparison of its structure with that of others, it is at least plain that it belongs to that interesting class of deposits, buried about A.D. 270 or very soon after, in which the Gallic issues are conspicuous by their rarity.

C. H. V. SUTHERLAND.

A THEodosian COIN HOARD FROM NORFOLK: A CORRECTION.

The clipped and worn coin no. 6 ascribed on p. 257 to Arcadius should be attributed to Magnus Maximus. Comparison with an unclipped specimen has confirmed this identification, and the writer thanks Mr. J. W. E. Pearce for this information. The date of burial of this hoard is therefore probably a few years earlier than that suggested.

R. C.

IS THE CALIPH BARE-HEADED ON UMAIYAD COINS?

IN the course of a recent article (*Num. Chron.*, 1935, p. 125) I pointed out that on the well-known early Umayyad bronze coins, which succeed the pure Byzantine type, the standing figure of the Caliph depicted thereon is *not bare-headed, but is wearing native head-dress*. This view—which in substance was also that of Prof. S. Lane-Poole¹—is contrary to that held by such standard authorities as Lavoix, in his Paris Catalogue, and Nützel, in his Berlin one. These latter have now been followed by M. R. Cottevieuille-Giraudet of the Bibliothèque Nationale in an interesting article in the *Revue Numismatique* (1934, p. 203), part of which occasioned my emphatic statement. Each of these oriental numismatists has maintained that the Caliph is *without head-covering and with long locks of hair falling down on either side on to the shoulders*. My objections to this, quite apart from any numismatic observations, were as follows: (a) *it is not a general Arab custom to allow the hair of the head to grow long*, and (b) *it would have been taboo for a good Muslim to appear with uncovered head*. In reply to this criticism of mine M. Giraudet seeks to defend his opinion in a *postscriptum* to a further instalment of his article (*ibid.*, 1935, pp. 226-229). In order to refute my contention he reproduces the obverses of seven early Umayyad coins (Plate VIII, nos. 11-17). Of these only four actually belong to the series of coins under discussion (Standing Caliph Type), viz. 11, 12, 13, and 17, and of these only one, as we shall see, is *à propos*. Nos. 15 and 16 are direct copies of the bust of the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius, and actually represent him *wearing the imperial diadem*. Even M. Giraudet has to admit this much ("un diadème surmonté d'un trèfle de pierreries"). No. 14, on the other hand, is a unique unpublished type showing a bearded head but with absolutely *no trace of long side-locks*. The head of the figure is topped with a curious double spiral which can hardly be meant for hair parted in the middle, as M. Giraudet would have us suppose. But the specimen is too poor and isolated to carry much weight. Besides, not one of these last three examples is relevant, since they do not belong to the Standing Caliph type, which is under

¹ *B.M. Catalogue*, ix, p. 10. He simply stated, however, without comment that the Caliph was "wearing kufecyeh".

dispute. We can, therefore, dismiss them.² We now come to the only relevant specimens, viz. 11, 12, 13, and 17. The first three are the usual typical examples, which by their lack of detail and clarity have led M. Giraudet and others to a quite pardonable misinterpretation. If one were ignorant of Muslim practices one might readily describe the figure as bare-headed with long side-locks. But to any one acquainted with the universal Muslim custom of religiously covering the head, most of all in public, such a flagrant breach of convention would, indeed, be startling. However, if specimens such as M. Giraudet's nos. 11, 12, and 13 were the sole evidence at hand it might be difficult to demonstrate this. But, fortunately, M. Giraudet's no. 17 is sufficient testimony, and instead of demolishing my view, in reality supports it.

This coin—of which specimens are known in several museums—possesses the distinct advantage, over others of its class, of being more clearly delineated and detailed, as well as having the head larger in scale in proportion to the body. To illustrate my point I reproduce an enlargement



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

of a specimen in the British Museum [fig. 1], in order to show how close a parallel exists between the effigy on this early Umayyad coin type and the present-day portrait of a Bedouin tribesman³ wearing just such a traditional head-covering or *kūfiya* (كوفية) [fig. 2].

It may be of interest to note in this connexion, that Lane (in his *Thousand and One Nights*, London, 1883, vol. i, p. 116)

² The same applies to his reference to an Aiyubid coin illustrated in Lane-Poole's *Catalogue*, iv, pl. v, no. 440. Even on this coin the figure is wearing the essential head-dress, which is exactly the point I stressed.

³ Drawn by the author.

thus describes the manner of wearing this kind of head-dress: "It is mostly worn by men, and is doubled diagonally, and placed over the cap in such a manner that the two corners which are folded together hang down the back; and the other two corners, in front" [i.e. one on either side of the head, as illustrated] (see also R. P. A. Dozy: *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les arabes*, s.v.).

It is not a *turban*, as M. Giraudet seems to imagine was my opinion, although in actual practice a *turban* is sometimes worn in addition to the *kāfiya*. Usually, however, the head-shawl is held in position by a head-band or *'iḳāl* (عقال) made of camel hair, which is wound round the top of the head above the *kāfiya*. In the case of the early Arab princes of the desert this *'iḳāl* or head-band would be, on ceremonial occasions at least, displaced by a diadem or *tāj* (the Aramaic *tāgā*). For example, the Ghassānid and Lakhmid kings on the frontiers of Arabia in pre-Islamic days would wear just such a *tāj* (تاج) or diadem in token of their allegiance to their Byzantine and Sassanian overlords respectively. It was an honour for them to wear it; an outward sign of their kingship. If we go back in fact to the earliest extant inscription written in Arabic found at Nemāra, and dated A.D. 328, we find this emphasized: "Ceci est le monument funéraire d'Imrūl-Kais, fils de 'Amr, prince de tous les Arabes, celui qui ceignit le diadème" (*alḥā asara 'l-tāj*), &c.⁴

The early Caliphs, however, seem to have discarded the *tāj*, and it is not until the 'Abbāsīd period that we find the "Crown of the Caliph" (*tāj al-Khalīfa*) forming a recognized part of the dynastic insignia. This again was due to the influence of Persian tradition. But whether the Caliph wore a *tāj* or not, he most certainly never appeared in public, nor would he be portrayed by artists, without a head-covering of some sort.

Among the Arabs, then, the head-dress, either with or without embellishments, was, and still is, an essential part of a man's wearing apparel, and it does not make sense to assert, as M. Giraudet does, that the standing figure of the Caliph on these early Muhammadan coins is represented as being bare-headed. The illustrations given above seem to me, in conjunction with what we know to be the general Islamic custom, to be sufficient to demonstrate the contrary.

JOHN WALKER.

⁴ *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, i, n. 2.

REVIEWS.

Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum. vol. iii. Nerva to Hadrian. By Harold Mattingly. Pp. xcvi + 640 and 102 plates. London: printed by order of the Trustees of the British Museum, 1936. Price £3 10s.

The appearance of each successive volume of this Catalogue is, obviously, an event of outstanding importance for students of the Roman Empire. But, if one may say so without offence to its illustrious predecessors, volume iii, now before us, merits a quite special welcome from those who have learnt to recognize in the coinage one of the most complete, reliable, and so to speak, intimate first-hand original sources that we possess for the history of Imperial times. It is not merely that we are driven, by the defection of the great historians at the end of the Flavian dynasty, to squeeze out information about Nerva, Trajan, and Hadrian from a numismatic source. But it is as if the Imperial government itself had now come to realize, as never before, the immense possibilities of its coinage as a mirror of contemporary life, of the political, spiritual, and artistic aspirations of the age. Such, at least, is the impression left upon us by Mr. Mattingly's brilliant and fascinating introduction to the Catalogue proper. He shows how the coins record, as faithfully as in a book, the yearly, monthly, almost daily items of Imperial news, both at home and abroad; how they reflect the delicate nuances of the Emperor's relations with Senate and army; his loving care for all the needs of his people in general and, in particular, for the provision of a suitable successor to reign over them in his stead (*Providentia*); his Imperial virtues—and even his failures (Nerva and the Praetorians); his movements and manifold activities; his religious devotions, his married life, his own and his family's state of health (*Salus*). The details of the obverse portraits have their lesson to teach "the bare head—perhaps a sign of *civilitas* . . . suitable to the *princeps*—a man among men, a citizen among his peers" (pp. xxii, xxiii); the choice of Imperial titles for the legends has a deep significance—"it [the dynastic *cognomen*, **CAESAR**] marks as clearly as

the title *AVGVSTVS*, but in a rather different way, the continuity of Empire. *AVGVSTVS* suggests spiritual importance, *CAESAR* social and political" (pp. xxiv, xxv); while Trajan's "restored" coins (pp. lxxxvi-xciii), interpreted as "a pageant of Roman history", are shown to possess an important political purpose and inner meaning. Moreover, these three reigns in themselves, taken together, form a distinct unit, a single act, as it were, in the drama of Imperial history. The brief principate of Nerva is the transition or prelude to the new Golden Age—"hoc beatissimum saeculum"; while in the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian the Golden Age itself falls into two phases, counterbalancing and complementary to one another—Trajan's, the phase of action in the strict sense, of an unrivalled splendour of Imperial *res gestae* civil and military: Hadrian's, the phase, so to speak, of contemplation, when the mind of a ruler whose "public" includes the whole human race" (p. clxv) formulated the most magnificent Imperial idea that the world has ever known and who chose the coinage in his great "province" series as the most effective medium through which that idea could be expressed and propagated. Similarly, the coins of our period reflect those striking developments in Imperial art which the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian witnessed—developments which are themselves reflections of the active and contemplative phases of the age—the great historical art of Trajan with its "dryness, sobriety, and prosiness of style", succeeded by Hadrianic art, romantic, poetic, and imaginative, under the stimulus of a new-found interest in the art of "classical" Greece (p. xx).

Such, as the introduction reveals, are the great Imperial events and conceptions mirrored in the coinage. From among the many special points of interest we may select a few which are particularly provocative of assent or criticism or suggestive of additional points and of comparisons with other monuments.

To begin with points of criticism.—On pp. xlviii (under Nerva) and cxxxvii-cxxxviii (under Hadrian), in discussing *Roma* types, Mr. Mattingly deprives Hadrian's *ROMAE AETERNAE aurei* and *denarii* of the distinction of being the first occasion on which the long-robed Minerva type of *Roma* appears upon the Roman coinage or upon any monument of Imperial art. He maintains (i) that on Roman Republican coins from c. 100 B.C. onwards the type of *Roma* is on the whole derived from that of Minerva and that, when she appears full-length, she wears a long robe to the ankles; (ii) that the Empire of the first century A.D. knows

two distinct *Roma* types: (a) the type of the city-goddess Minerva, distinguished by the long robe to the ankles, (b) the type of the Amazon, with tunic to the knees: the Minerva type appears on the later brass of Nero, on a *sestertius* of Galba, and on the "*Roma Renascens S.C.*" coin of Nerva. But on close scrutiny the coins in question do not appear to support this view. Among the Republican coins with *Roma* types listed in the *British Museum Catalogue of Coins of the Roman Republic* there are only three which, at first sight, seem to suggest the Minerva conception: (i) an Italian *denarius* of c. 93-92 B.C. (*op. cit.*, ii, p. 284, Pl. XCIV, 7) shows *Roma* seated and "wearing long drapery"; actually, however, she wears, not the long *chiton* reaching to the ankles, but the short *chiton* with the *himation* wrapped round the knees; (ii) a Roman *aureus* of c. 12 B.C. (*ibid.*, p. 78, Pl. LXVIII, 3) shows a figure, identified by some as *Roma*, wearing a long *chiton*: but the identification with *Roma* is quite uncertain: others describe her as a herald, or as a Salian priest, or as a Fetialis, or as Minerva herself; (iii) an Italian *denarius* of c. 93-92 B.C. (*ibid.*, p. 283, Pl. XCIV, 5, 6) shows an armed and helmeted figure, wearing a long *chiton* which reaches to the ankles and placing a wreath on a Gaulish trophy: the word **ROMA**, which appears in the field behind the figure and seems to label her as such, is, of course, the mint name, and it is not therefore certain that our figure is *Roma*: she may be Minerva, whose portrait on the Capitoline Triad coin-type (*ibid.*, Pl. XCIV, 16, 17) she resembles almost exactly. Turning to the so-called Minerva types of *Roma* on the coins of Nero (*Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, vol. i, Pl. 41, nos. 2-4; Pl. 48, no. 5), Galba (*ibid.* Pl. 56, no. 4), and Nerva (*op. cit.*, vol. iii, Pl. 4, no. 6), we find that there is no trace of the long *chiton*: *Roma* wears a short *chiton* with a *himation* wrapped round her knees, just as she does upon the Gemma Augustea (where the *himation* is folded double). Finally, if we turn to the *Roma* coins of Hadrian we can see at once the difference between these pseudo-Minerva types and the genuine one. At the bottom of Plate 60 of the present work are figured four *Roma* coins. Nos. 17, 18 (**ROMA AETERNA**) and 19 (**ROMA FELIX**) show *Roma* seated on either a pile of arms or a curule chair with short *chiton* and *himation* wrapped round her knees. But on no. 20 (**ROMAE AETERNAE**) the crinkly folds of the long *chiton* reaching to the ankles are clearly visible beneath the *himation* and exactly resemble those of the long *chiton* of the seated *Pietas* on no. 13 just above (cf. Pl. 53, no. 19 (**COS III**)). It

would seem, then, that it was Hadrian's **ROMAE AETERNAE** coins which first introduced into ancient art the assimilation of *Roma* to the Greek *Athene*, as contrasted with the Amazon, type, a fact which corresponds with the Emperor's pacific policy and with the "classical" tendencies in the art of the time. Some small points also arise *à propos* of another personification, that of *Dacia*. Among the types of Trajan's c. 104-107 issue (*rev.* **S·P·Q·R·OPTIMO PRINCIPI**) is one which shows Trajan presenting a kneeling Dacian to the Senate. Mr. Mattingly (p. lxxii) thinks that this type must be a late memory of the first Dacian war (a somewhat odd intrusion into an issue of which the main event was the second war, 105-106), since *Dacia* as a state ceased to exist after the second war and could no longer be represented as suing for peace. But might not the type represent "*Dacia Capta*" supplicating the Senate (as the constitutional representative of Rome) for mercy, just as on another type (not in the British Museum) of the same issue she kneels before *Pax* (*Roman Imperial Coinage*, ii, pp. 256-257, 281, nos. 187-190, 510-513), not "suing for" Peace, but supplicating her as the personification of that Roman peace which, along with prosperity (*Dacia* kneeling before *Felicitas*—*ibid.*, p. 280, no. 499) and membership of the Empire (*Dacia* kneeling before *Roma*—*ibid.*, p. 279, nos. 485-488), Trajan had imposed upon a prostrate enemy? On p. c, Mr. Mattingly rightly interprets as Danube, rather than as Tiber, the river-god overpowering *Dacia* in the well-known *sestertius* type. But it is not easy to see why he should describe this *Dacia* as a "colourless figure—having nothing in common with the many '*Dacia*' types of the coinage of Trajan". She appears in the regular native dress consisting of cap, long-sleeved short tunic, and *braccæ* "in der heimatischen Tracht wie auf den Denaren mit **DACIA CAPTA**", as Strack describes her on p. 126 of his study of Trajanic coinage, a passage to which Mr. Mattingly actually refers us here in a footnote. Again, on p. civ. the *Dacia* of Trajan's **DACIA AVGVST·PROVINCIA** type is wrongly described as "a woman with long drapery": she actually wears short *chiton* and *braccæ*; and if Hadrian's *Dacia* has no *pileus*, it certainly seems untrue to say that she is "no longer wearing the breeches" (p. clxxix). Finally, we may call attention to two minor slips. On p. xxiv (top paragraph) "no such issue" should surely read, for clarity's sake, "no commemorative issue"; and on p. lxxvii for "the adoption of Nerva by Trajan" read "the adoption of Trajan by Nerva".

So much for minor questions of criticism. Among the very numerous points of detail which stimulate the reader to note additional points, and to draw comparisons from other material, the following are of special interest. On p. xlvii Mr. Mattingly notes that *liberalitas* replaces *congiarium* under Hadrian. Might not this be symptomatic of the general fondness for personification and abstraction, characteristic of art and thought in the early second century, which is reflected, for example, in the Tacitean use of abstract for concrete nouns (e.g. *liberalitas* meaning "gift" in *Annals*, ii. 37, "inlectus a divo Augusto liberalitate decies sestertii"; *Annals*, iv. 20, "liberalitas Augusti avulsa"; *Histories*, i. 20, "decima parte liberalitatis apud quemque eorum relicta")? On p. lxvi we find a very interesting and convincing interpretation of Trajan's type of an unnamed woman, seated on a chair with cornucopiae as arms, and holding a sceptre. Mr. Mattingly calls her Iustitia-Astraea, the spirit of the Trajano-Hadrianic Golden Age, to which we have an explicit reference in the SAEC·AVR· aureus of Hadrian (p. cxxxi). This latter type, which shows the youthful figure of the genius of the Golden Age holding a phoenix and stepping out of an oval zodiac frame, invites comparison with the similar figures standing in zodiac frames in the Sentinum mosaic and Parabiago silver *patera*. Ten years ago, in *Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. ii, p. 238, Mr. Mattingly dismissed the standardizing of the S·P·Q·R· OPTIMO PRINCIPI legend of Trajan's coinage as "making for dullness". Now (p. lxx f.) he guides us to a true appreciation of this remarkable formula as implying that "shortly after the victorious end of his first Dacian war, the Senate, as representative of the Roman people, passed a resolution conveying to Trajan in the most formal style its homage, its devotion, and its gratitude for virtues that entitled him to be ranked only just after Jupiter Optimus Maximus as the 'optimus' *par excellence* among many". These coins, he points out, are strictly dedicatory, struck to the Emperor's honour and glory; and they signify that the ultimate authority in Rome, the "Senate and People of Rome", having found its perfect Emperor, has voluntarily committed the whole conduct of public affairs, the coinage itself included, into Trajan's hands. But it was not Rome only who delegated all legitimate power to her "optimus princeps". On *aes* of 103-111 Trajan stands armed with the thunderbolt of Jupiter (p. ci), a *motif* which can only mean that the god himself, whose title of "optimus" the Emperor shares, has delegated to him his own authority as

father and ruler of the world. At this point a reference is surely in place to the famous attic reliefs of the Beneventum Arch, in which Jupiter with his own hands is offering to Trajan his *fulmen*, the symbol of his sovereignty, delegating his power to the man-god, the *pater patriae*, his vicar or vice-regent on earth. Coin and sculptured relief alike might almost have been designed to illustrate the words addressed by Pliny to Trajan in his *Panegyric* (80)—“Such a rule as yours is, as I conceive it, exercised by the father of the universe himself, [who] . . . has given you to the world to fulfil his function as guardian of the human race.” All this is, according to Mr. Mattingly, “to step very near to the line that divides homage from adulation”. Yet it really reveals a lofty and noble conception of the Emperor as the steward, the vicar of God, hard-worked and hard-working, the first servant of his people, *servus servorum Romae* (Mackail, *The Lesson of Imperial Rome*). On p. cxxxii f. Hadrian’s fine Minerva-Palladium *aurus* type is associated in the 121–124/5 issue with the Natalis Urbis celebrations, the Palladium suggesting thoughts of Eternal Rome (cf. Palladium held by *Roma* on ROMAE AETERNAE coins). Can we see in this aspect of the Palladium a possible reason for its constant appearance in a well-known group of cuirass-statues of Hadrian found in Greek lands—at Cyrene, at Kisamos, Gortyn, Hierapytna and Knossos in Crete, at Olympia, and at Athens? Interesting confirmation of the idea of Hadrian’s hunting as “a sort of peaceful warfare, an exhibition of imperial ‘virtus’ in a less serious field than battle” (p. cxxxiv, note 3) is afforded by the group of so-called “marriage sarcophagi” recently studied by Rodenwaldt (*Über den Stilwandel in der antoninischen Kunst*, 1935), who shows that the various scenes depicted on them are symbolic of Roman virtues, the virtue of “virtus” being represented alternatively by a battle- or hunt-scene. On p. clxiii, commenting on the type struck in 119 of *Britannia* watchful and secure, Mr. Mattingly remarks that though the Wall was not yet built, the plan may very well have been already in Hadrian’s mind. But the issue of the type in this year may possibly commemorate something more concrete than a plan in the mind, namely, the construction of the Vallum, which, according to archaeological evidence, antedates the Stone Wall (122) by but a few years.

One of the most important sections of the introduction to Hadrian’s coinage is that on chronology. Partly as a result of the work of Dr. P. L. Strack, Mr. Mattingly’s views on this subject have undergone certain modifications since the

publication of vol. ii of *Roman Imperial Coinage* in 1926. For instance, he no longer (p. cxv) closes the 119 issue at 122, no longer postulating, as formerly (*R.I.C.*, ii, p. 320), a break in the coinage from 122 to 125, during the Emperor's absence from Rome. At the same time he points out that after 122 "there is no fresh life in the issue" and that consecration coins of Plotina, who died late in 121 or early in 122, are conspicuous by their absence. On p. cxvi Mr. Mattingly bids a final farewell to his posthumous theory of the **HADRIANVS AVG·P·P·** issue, in view of Strack's convincing arguments for assigning them to the years 128-132. But he appears to us justified, on the whole, in retaining the posthumous dating for a few coins with this obverse-legend coupled with seemingly much later reverses—**DIVIS PARENTIBVS, ROMVLO CONDITORI** and **VENERI GENETRICI**. With regard to the coinage of Sabina (p. cxviii), the theory of a posthumous date for the coins with obverse-legend **SABINA AVGVSTA HADRIANA AVG·P·P·** is likewise abandoned. Mr. Mattingly's chief divergence from Strack's chronology concerns the famous "province" and "army" series (pp. cxviii, cxix), all of which Strack attributes to the single year 137, thus running into "serious danger of overloading the Roman mint" (p. cxviii). For this and for other cogent reasons Mr. Mattingly rejects Strack's late date and convincingly assigns the series to the years 134/5 to early 136 (p. cxliv).

It has proved impossible, in reviewing a book of such size and importance, to do more than concentrate upon one outstanding feature of the work, namely, upon the fascinating questions of Imperial art and history with which the introductory essay teems. But we may conclude by remarking that in its main body—catalogue proper and indices—this volume follows the same excellent lines of arrangement as its predecessors, and that the plates maintain the same standard of perfection as that achieved by the plates of vol. ii.

J. M. C. TOYNBEE.

Der Münzfund von Viminacium: vorläufiger Bericht. By ERIK GREN. Uppsala. Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri—A-B. Kr. 2:50.

During excavations at Kostolac (on the site of the ancient Viminacium) in 1902, two very large deposits of late Roman bronze were unearthed, weighing respectively 88 kg. and

38 kg., and together comprising some 100,000 coins. They were taken to the Belgrade Museum and unfortunately not kept distinct. However, it would seem that they both represented the currency of the same period, and were buried at the same time—the very likely occasion suggested by Dr. Gren being the capture of the town by Attila in A.D. 441/2.

To their classification Dr. Gren devoted five weeks of a Balkan tour in 1928, and a further fortnight in 1931. The result of his seven weeks' work is given in this welcome little book. It is, indeed, as Dr. Gren modestly explains, only a "provisional notice" of this enormous mass of evidence for a period that has lately been claiming more and more attention from numismatists and historians of the Later Empire. Dr. Gren's time was ludicrously short for his task, though in it he has accomplished marvels. From over 100,000 coins to sort out and attribute to types or classes, and, where possible, to emperors, some 20,000 which were unbroken, or, if broken, not entirely unidentifiable, might well seem a labour of months instead of weeks for a trained numismatist, conversant with the decrepit coinage of which most of the "hoards" consisted. But Dr. Gren tells us he had little previous numismatic knowledge. That being so, our wonder is increased that he has done the work so well.

As a true picture of a degraded currency reflecting troubled times and a sinking *morale*, this book, though only a preliminary study, is of real and permanent value, supplementing from Pannonia the evidence already gained from other parts of the Roman Empire outside Britain. Here also we find "legitimate" coins, old and new, whole or halved, imitations, "feudal currency" (by which term borrowed from Dr. Milne the author, I suppose, is designating issues which he regards as purely local), pieces of stamped lead and *minimi* jumbled together, and Dr. Gren's concluding remarks on this point are interesting and sensible. The legitimate coinage was obviously inadequate in quantity. Its scarcity would result in a great deflation. The rise in value of the current bronze money rendered necessary the employment of anything that would serve as "small change". How the varying forms taken by this "small change" stood in relation to the legitimate mint-issues is another matter, and not at present determinable. The proportion of halved to whole coins of each type and emperor is carefully stated. It is interesting to find that the percentage is highest in the "Valentinianian" period when $\text{Æ } 3$ was the lowest

denomination. Average weights are given, often with the useful specification of the highest and lowest limits. The fifth-century coinage varies—with the same type—from 1 to 2 grammes. Are there one or two denominations here? Dr. Gren (as previously Dr. Mickwitz) would have the question settled by the method of "Variationsstatistik". But I feel that even if the weights crystallized round one gramme and two grammes respectively, there would be so many carelessly struck coins on the border-line that constant friction in the market-place would attend their use; that this indeed did occur and necessarily drove out the *Æ3* before the period at which the "hoard" ended.

I have tried to indicate the interest and usefulness of Dr. Gren's work, but in matters of detail there is much in it with which I cannot agree. For example, the three Valentinians annex each other's types—Valentinian I the *vota* which Valentinian II shares with Theodosius and Arcadius, Valentinian II the "Cross in wreath" and the "Victory holding two wreaths" which Valentinian III shares with Theodosius II, and Valentinian III the "Camp-gate" with legend **GLORIA REIPVBLICE** which should rejoin the similar type and legend correctly given to Valentinian II. Mint-marks are often troublesome to decipher, and some of Dr. Gren's readings sadly upset views which I hoped were settled. Such is $\overline{\text{TR}}$ on a **SALVS REIPVBLICAE** of Theodosius. My satisfaction at finding in Milan that $\overline{\text{SMTR}}$ given by Voetter to a coin of this type in the Gerin Collection was in fact illegible, is threatened again by this new discovery. But Dr. Gren conscientiously remarks on the absence of $\overline{\text{P}}$, and I have strong hopes that the coin is after all a **VICTORIA AVGGG**. Mint-marks run on fairly fixed lines, and variations seem to occur only within certain definite limits, but, of course, some which I doubt may be correct, and a valuable addition to our knowledge when verified. I see that Iohannes is given with $\overline{\text{ERAC}}$. I have never come across this mint-mark except in Cohen—nor had the late Baron v. Koblitz in his forty years of work on this late period. Recently Colonel Ulrich-Bansa showed me a coin of Iohannes with $\overline{\text{ERM}}$, and I thought Cohen's $\overline{\text{ERAC}}$ might have been a misreading of this on a poor specimen. I should like to have it verified and explained. That **PCON** on coins of Maximus is attributed to Constantinople instead of to Arelate (a mistake made also by Seeck) bears out the author's statement that

he brought to his task little previous numismatic experience. No wonder, then, that he was forced to rely on Cohen, who is especially misleading in his last volume.

Despite the handicaps of lack of time and experience, however, Dr. Gren has done his work so conscientiously that it is generally possible from what he gives us to correct the purely numismatic errors ourselves.

I strongly recommend the book to the notice of all students of the later Roman coinage.

J. W. E. PEARCE.

Note sulla Zecca di Aquileia Romana. By OSCAR ULRICH-BANSA. Estratto da "*Aquileia Nostra*", anno V° n. 2, 1934-anno VI° n. 1, 1935.

The mint of Aquileia was initiated under Diocletian in A.D. 297. It played an important part throughout the fourth century till the fall of Maximus, when first Milan and then Ravenna succeeded to the primacy of the Italian mints. During the greater part of Honorius' reign it must have been closed. After the fall of Johannes there is a momentary renaissance of its former glories, and gold and silver as well as bronze appear once more, and for the last time, with the mint-mark of Aquileia.

The author has much that is interesting to say on the general course of the coinage as illustrative of the religious and economical history of the fourth century. In particular he lays stress on its neutrality in the dangerous sphere of religious controversy, observing, for example, that the appearance of the cross in the issues of 318-19 from Aquileia, which symbolized for the Christian the spiritual victory of his faith, could equally symbolize for the Pagan the temporal victory of the Pons Milvius won under that sign. But the purely numismatic value of these notes lies chiefly in the welcome additions which the author's researches have enabled him to make to our hitherto very scanty knowledge of the final issues from Aquileia under Valentinian III.

In the early part of 425 Placidia and the young Caesar, Valentinian III, not yet Augustus, had their residence at Aquileia while Aspar was recovering Italy for them from the usurper Johannes. *Solidi* of Placidia with VOT XX MVLT XXX "Victory standing, holding long cross" and of Theodosius II with SALVS REIPUBLICAE "Two emperors, one nimbate, seated, the other smaller, not nimbate,

standing", must be dated to this time. Both coins have

mint-mark $\begin{array}{c} * \\ \text{AQ} \\ \hline \text{COMOB} \end{array}$. The *solidus* of Placidia reproduces

a *vota*-type previously struck in the East during the lifetime of Honorius, but obviously still in use there. There can be no doubt that the *vota* are of Theodosius II, and both the above-mentioned *solidi* are an appropriate recognition of the protection he had given to the exiled empress and her young son.

The *vota* celebrations, says the author, were as a rule specially marked by the simultaneous issue of *AV*, *AR*, and *AE*, their inter-connexion being shown by a uniformity of type based on that of the *solidus*, though the smaller coins, having insufficient space for the whole *solidus*-type, reproduced only some salient detail of it, e.g. a trophy, a ✕ or, as in the present instance, a simple cross. Needless to say, some denominations of this period are extremely rare, and a complete series of a given *vota*-issue is hard to come by. But Col. Ulrich-Bansa has been so fortunate as to find in the Museo Archeologico at Aquileia two hitherto unknown coins which he adduces in support of his view. Both have *rev.* "No legend; cross in wreath". One is a *tremissis* of Theodosius II with mint-mark *CONOB*; the other a *siliqua* of Placidia, remarkable alike in its *obv.* legend, its weight, and its unique mint-mark. The *obv.* legend *DN GALLA PL-ACIDIA AVG* is a combination of the Western and Eastern styles seen on her coinage. The weight is 2.1 grm.; the mint-mark *AQMOS*. This evidently was the mint-mark which I could only partially decipher on a similar coin at Leningrad, having *obv.* identity with this one and weighing 2.49 grm. The series is completed by *AE* 4 of Placidia with the "Cross" reverse, issued from Aquileia. All these coins are excellently illustrated in the text.

So far Valentinian III has not appeared; he had not yet received the higher title of Augustus, and his absence from this issue would seem to be additional evidence in favour of the author's thesis. But Col. Ulrich-Bansa is at no loss to illustrate a unique coin for him also. This is an *AE* 4 with the traditional "Single Victory" type and mint-mark *SMAQP*. As he has the Augustus title, the coin is presumably somewhat later.

These "Notes" are clearly a contribution of great

importance for our knowledge of fifth-century numismatics,¹ both in the new material brought to light and in the author's illuminating comments thereon.

J. W. E. PEARCE.

Princeps: Studien zur Geschichte des Augustus. Band I.
By WILHELM WEBER. Verlag W. KOHLHAMMER, Stuttgart. Berlin, 1936. Pp. vii+240, 265.

The first volume of a study of the central theme of imperial history—the position of the “Princeps” himself—by a German scholar of international reputation is a notable event in the history of modern scholarship, and, inasmuch as coins are freely drawn with the rest of the evidence into the researcher's net, has a definite claim on the interest of numismatists as well. The immediate themes are the end of Augustus, the beginnings of Tiberius, and that remarkable document, the “Res Gestae Divi Augusti”, which has been preserved to instruct and puzzle the world. Professor Weber seeks to prove that Augustus foresaw his death some months before it occurred, and made due preparations for an orderly succession; that Tiberius, while accepting the position of advantage so carefully secured for him by Augustus, scrupulously refrained from taking over the Empire until the Senate formally gave it into his care; finally, that the “Res Gestae” form the divine legend of the new imperial cult, the record of services to the human race which earned Augustus a place in the Euhemerist heaven. These positions are all of very serious importance and are defended with such resolution and learning, that they will have to be taken into serious consideration in all future research. Almost more

¹ In further illustration of the latest period of mint-activity at Aquileia it may be worth while to mention (1) an *Æ 2 obv.* AEL PLA-CIDIA AVG (purely Eastern style), *rev.* SALVS REI-PVBLICAE Victory seated r., writing ✠ on shield ✠SMAQP illustrated in Spink, *Num. Chron.*, Sept. 1908, from the Gourbastoff Collection; (2) the late Baron v. Koblitz in a letter dealing exclusively with Aquileia mentioned a half-siliqua of Valentinian III as seen by him in the Herzfelder Collection, *rev.* VICTORIA AVGG “Victory 1”; (3) the *solidus* VOT XX MVLT XXX “Victory holding long cross” of Placidia from Aquileia (Hirsch Sale, 27/5/07, no. 1762) has obverse identity with one from Rome (Hirsch Sale, 9/11/10, no. 1544).

important for the numismatist than the text of the book are the notes, which form the second part. Coins are freely quoted and such themes of numismatic interest as "Hilaritas" (p. 12, no. 62), "Optimus Princeps" (pp. 27 ff., no. 135), "Liberalitas" (p. 60, nos. 243 ff.), "Consecratio" (p. 77, nos. 342 ff.), "Victoria" (p. 80, no. 353), the "Divi" (p. 86, no. 399), "Divus Augustus" (p. 92, no. 427), find full discussion. Professor Weber is honourably known as one of the scholars who has done most in our time to promote the "Concordia Felix" of numismatics and history. We welcome this book gratefully as a notable example and justification of his method.

HAROLD MATTINGLY.

Catalogue of Oxfordshire Seventeenth-Century Tokens. By J. G. Milne, Oxford, 1935, Pp. xx; Pl. XVI. 3s. 6d.

This very full account of its tokens, based on the almost complete collection in the Ashmolean Museum, does for the County what Mr. Leeds did for the City of Oxford; 192 tokens, compared with 175 in Boyne-Williamson, are described and illustrated. In the introduction Dr. Milne discusses the use and currency of tokens, their method of production, their devices and the relation of these to the trades of the issuers. He makes the important discovery that the tokens bearing the initial R are not, as hitherto supposed, by Thomas Rawlins but by David Ramage. Among the evidence showing this is the fact that some are from the same punches as Norwich tokens, known to have been struck by Ramage. Dr. Milne has accumulated a remarkable amount of information about the issuers of the tokens of Oxfordshire from local and public records, and his work in this field should serve as a model and guide to workers in other counties. The book is doubly valuable, for it is not only a very complete monograph on the subject, but it sets an example which students of other counties will be well advised to follow.

J. ALLAN.

The Numismatische Literatur-Blatt.

The Numismatische Literatur-blatt founded and edited for many years by the late General Bahrfeldt is to be continued on the same lines by Dr. R. Gaettens, Königstr. 7. Halle (Saale) Germany, to whom all books, periodicals, etc. for notice should be sent. It is a matter of general congratulation that this valuable periodical is to continue its career of usefulness.

INDEX.

A.

- Abdera, stater of, in the British Museum, 173-174
 Abydos, coins of, in the Ashmolean Museum, 284
 Aenianes, coins of, in the British Museum, 181-182
 Aezanis, a mint for cistophori, 19
 Aegemon, magistrate of Aenianes, 181-2.
 Alabanda, a mint for cistophori, 7, 8
 Alaesa, bronze coin of, in British Museum, 170-171
 Alexander III the Great, staters of, in the British Museum, 174
 — III of Scotland, pennies of, in the Boyton Find, 143-144
 Alexandria, Palmyrene influence at, 89-114
 Alexandria Troas, silver coin of, in the Ashmolean Museum, 285
 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan, sultan of Kilwa, 70
 ALLAN, JOHN.
 Notice of J. G. Milne, *Oxfordshire XVIIth Century Tokens*, 336
 See also Grueber, H. A.
 ALLEN, DEREK F.
 The Boyton Find of coins of Edward I and II, 115-155
 Amynder, Thessalian magistrate, 175
 Androthenes, Thessalian magistrate, 177
 Antigonus, Thessalian magistrate, 176
 Antioch, Palmyrene influence at, 89-114
 Antissa, coin of, in the Ashmolean Museum, 286
 Aphrodisias, cistophori of, 7, 8;
 Cilic archaic silver of, 265-280
 Aphrodite on cistophori, 8
 Apollo on cistophori, 8
 — Didymaion on cistophori,
 — Kitharoides on cistophori, 19
 — Tyrimnaion on cistophori, 5, 22
 Aquileia, the mint of, 333-335

- Aratus, magistrate of Cos,
 Archa, magistrate of Cos, 193
 Archios, magistrate of Cos, 193
 Ariarathes II of Cappadocia, coins wrongly attributed to, 196-7
 Aristaeus, magistrate of Cos, 192, 193
 Aristander, magistrate of Cos, 192, 193
 Aristion, Thessalian magistrate, 176
 Aristocles, Thessalian magistrate, 176
 Arnias, Thessalian magistrate, 177
 Artemis on cistophori, 9
 Ashmolean Museum, Greek coins in, 193, 254-255, 281-287;
 Roman coins in, 251, 316-320
 Assus, coin of, in the Ashmolean Museum, 285
 Astyno —, 193, magistrate of Cos, 192, 193
 Atrax, bronze coin of, in the British Museum, 182

B.

- Bithynia, cistophori of, 24-27
 Boyton (Wilts.), find of Edward pennies at, 115-155
 Bridport (Dorset), Roman coins from, 250
 British Museum, Greek coins acquired by, in 1933-1934, 169-201

C.

- Cabirus, the god, type on coins of Claudius II, 110
 Caliph, Umayyad, representation of his head-dress, 321-323
 Callipid..., magistrate of Cos, 193
 Callistra, Thessalian magistrate, 177
 Calymna, coins of, in the British Museum, 190-191, 193
 Cappadocia (?), coin of a satrap of, 196-197
 Carey, Peter, seal of, 226; medal-lion of, 228
 Caria, early staters of, 188-190;

- a find of archaic coins of, 265-280
- Cirencester, Roman site-finds from, 261-263
- Cistophori of Hadrian and their mints, 1-29
- CLARKE, RAINBIRD.
A Theodosian Coin Hoard from Norfolk, 255-257, 370
- Claudius II, eastern coinage of, 109-112
- Cleeve Prior (Worc.), Roman coins from, 314-316
- Cleuphanes, magistrate at Colymna, 190
- Compton Cowdown (Berks.), Roman coins from, 318-319
- Coreyra, coins of, in the Ashmolean Museum, 255
- Cos, coins of, in the British Museum, 192-193
- Cotteville-Giraudet, M. R., on Caliph's head-dress, 321
- Cottys, Thessalian magistrate, 176
- Cybeté on cistophori, 9-11
- Cyllus, Thessalian magistrate, 177
- Cyrene, gold coin of, in the British Museum, 201
- Cyzicus, coins of, in the Ashmolean Museum, 281-283

D.

- Dacia, personification of, 327
- Damon, magistrate of Cos, 193
- Da'ūd b. al-Ḥasan, sultan of Kilwa, 71-72
- b. Sulaimān, sultan of Kilwa, 67-68
- Diadumenianus, coin of Marcianopolis of, 173
- Diana Ephesia on cistophori, 12-16
- Milesia on cistophori, 8-9
- Dies, non-adjustment of in north-west Greece, 254-255
- Dionysos on cistophori, 21-22
- Dixagoras, magistrate of Cos, 193
- Dunfermline, Edward pennies found at, 304-307
- DUNNING, G. C.
Note on the Boyton Jug, 156
Note on the Dunfermline Jug, 307

E.

- Edward I-II, find of coins of, at Boyton, 115-124, 127-142, 146-148
- Ephesus, cistophori of, 13-15; coins of, in the British Museum, 185-186
- Eubiotus, magistrate of Aenianes, 181
- Eucolus, Thessalian magistrate, 176
- Eumeneia, cistophori of, 20
- Eupalid . . ., Thessalian magistrate, 176
- Euryd . . ., Thessalian magistrate, 176
- Evans, H. A., owner of Southsea Find, 292
- Eynsham, Roman coins from, 251-253

F.

- FARQUHAR, MISS HELEN.
New Light on Thomas Simon, 210-234
- FINDS OF COINS.
Asia Minor, S.W. (archaic Greek), 265-280
Boyton (Edward I-II, &c.), 115-155
Bridport (Roman), 250
Caister (Roman), 164-165
Calymna, 193
Cirencester (Roman), 261-263
Cleeve Prior (Roman), 314-316
Compton Cowdown (Roman), 318-319
Dunfermline (Edward I-III), 304-309
Eynsham (Roman), 251-253
Ham Hill (Roman), 30-42
Hayle (Roman), 202-210
Icklingham (Roman), 251-260
Kiddington (Roman), 82-87
Kirkham (Roman), 316-318
Langwith (Roman), 235-244
Laxton (Roman), 156-163
Long Wittenham (Roman), 819-832
Norfolk (Roman), 255-257, 320
Ribchester (Roman), 317
Shapwick (Roman), 245-250
Southsea (Roman), 292-303
Upper Holker (Roman), 317
Fortuna on cistophori, 23

G.

- Gallienus, Egyptian chronology of, 98-101
 Gaunanes, Thessalian magistrates, 177
 GRUEBER, H. A., and J. ALLAN.
 The Southsea Find of Fourth-century Silver Coins, 292-303
 Guernsey, diaconal seal of, 219-221

H.

- Hadrian, cistophori of, 1-29;
 Asiatic denarii of, 27-29; his travels in Asia Minor, 2
 Ham Hill, Roman coins from, 30-42
 al-Hasan b. Sulaiman, sultan of Kilwa, 72-75
 — b. Tālūt, sultan of Kilwa, 63-65
 Hayle, Roman coins from, 202-209
 Herakles on cistophori, 26
 Heroeleitus, magistrate of Cos, 193
 HERZFELDER, HUBERT.
 The Cistophori of Hadrian, 1-29
 Hierapolis, cistophori of, 19-26
 HILL, SIR GEORGE.
 The Supposed Idalian Stater of Argalos, 88
 al-Husain b. Ahmad, sultan of Kilwa, 78-79
 Hypalad . . . , supposed Thessalian magistrate, 176

I.

- Icklingham, siliquae from, 257-261
 Idaliun, stater of Argalos (?) of, 88
 Ilium, coin of Commodus of, in the Ashmolean Museum, 285
 Ishāk b. Ḥasan, sultan of Kilwa, 79-80
 Italus, Thessalian magistrate, 177

K.

- Kiddington, Roman coins from, 82-87.
 Kilwa, history and coinage of,

- 43-81; genealogical tables, 59-61
 Kirkham (Lanes.), Roman coins from,
Kāfiya, Arab head-dress worn by the Caliph, 320-323

L.

- Lampius, magistrate of Cos, 193
 Lampsacus, coin of, in the Ashmolean Museum, 283
 Langwith (York), Roman coins from, 235-244
 Laodicea ad Lycum, cistophori of, 18
 LAWRENCE, L. A.
 A Small Hoard of Edward Pennies found at Dunfermline in 1926, 304-309
 Notes on the Society's history, 310-313
 Laxton, Roman coins from, 156-163
 Long Wittenham, Roman coins from, 319-332
 Lycophantos, Thessalian magistrate, 175

M.

- Maecianus II in the east, 91, 107
 Marcianopolis, coin of Diadumenianus of, in the British Museum, 173
 Marius, stater of, in the British Museum, 196
 MATINGLY, HAROLD.
 The Palmyrene Princes and the Mints of Antioch and Alexandria, 89-114
 Notice of W. Weber's *Principes*, i, 335-336
 Mattingly, H., Notice of his *B.M.C. Roman Empire*, vol. iii, 324-330
 Melanippus, magistrate of Cyrene, 201
 Mēn on cistophori, 5, 26
 Metropolis, bronze coin of, in the British Museum, 183
 Miletropolis, coin of, in the Ashmolean Museum, 286
 Miletus, cistophori of, 8
 MILNE, J. G.
 On Dies in North-west Greece, 254-255

Notes on the Oxford Collection :

2. Mysia, Troas, and Aeolis,
281-287
Minimi, Hayle hoard of, 202-209
Mylasa, cistophori of, 7
Mynnion, magistrate of Aeni-
anes, 181
MYRES, J. N. L. and SUTHERLAND,
C. H. V.
A Hoard of Roman Coins from
Ham Hill, Somerset, 30-42
Myrina, coin of M. Aurelius of,
in the Ashmolean Museum, 286
Mytilene, coins of, in the Ash-
molean Museum, 286-287

N.

- Nabataea, new coins of, 288-290
Nemeses on cistophori, 11, 12, 16
Nicagoras, magistrate of Cos, 193
Nicobulus, magistrate of Aeni-
anes, 182
Nicomedia (Bithynia), cistophori
of, 76-77
Numismatic Chronicle, early history
of, 313
Numismatic Society, foundation
of, 310; successive names of,
311

O.

- Odenathus of Palmyra, 93-94
O'NEIL, B. H. St. J.
The Cleeve Prior Hoard of 1811,
314-316
Oxford Collection *see* Ashmolean
Museum

P.

- Palmyra, history of, 89-91; in-
fluence of, on Roman coins, 91-
114
Patrocles, magistrate of Cos, 193
Pausanias, Thessalian magistrate,
177
Pax on cistophori, 18
PEARCE, J. W. E.
A New Hoard of Siliquae from
Icklingham, 257-261
Pelinna, bronze coin of, in the
British Museum, 183
Pericleides, magistrate of Aeni-
anes, 182
Pergamum, cistophori of, 15-18;
coins of, in the Ashmolean
Museum, 283

- Petra, coins from, 288-291
Petraeus, Thessalian magistrate,
177
Phaelis, a stater of, 267, 279
Pherae (?), lead tessera of, in the
British Museum, 183-184
Philisto-Arabian coins in the
British Museum, 199-200
Phocylus, magistrate of Ephesus,
186
Pionia, coin of, in the Ashmolean
Museum, 286
Pisistratus, magistrate of Ca-
lymna, 190
Polyrates, magistrate of Abdera,
173
Poseidon on cistophori, 23
Praxidd, magistrate of Cos, 193
Prince of Wales Museum, Bom-
bay, catalogue of Gujarat coins
in, 264
Protogoras, magistrate of Cos, 193
Prytaneis in place of magistrate's
name on coins of Smyrna, 187-
188
Pytheas, Thessalian magistrate,
176
Pythion, magistrate of Cos, 193

Q.

- Quietus, death of, 93, 107

R.

- Radiate minimi, Hayle hoard of,
202-209

REVIEWS.

- Acarya and Singhal, *Coins of the
Gujarat Sultans*, 263
Gren, Erik, *Der Münzfund von
Viminacium*, 330
Mattingly, H., *Coins of the Roman
Empire in the British Museum*,
vol. iii, 324-330
Ulrich-Bansa, O., *Note sulla Zecca
di Aquileia Romana*, 333-335
Weber, Wilhelm, *Princeps*, vol.
v, 335-336
Rhoda, gold stater of, in the
British Museum, 169-170
Rhodes, coins of, in the British
and Ashmolean Museums, 193
Ribchester, Roman coins found
at, 317

ROBERTSON, Miss ANNE S.

A Hoard of Theodosian Coins from Laxton, Northants, 156-163

A Find of Constantinian Coins from Caister by Yarmouth, 164-168

A Hoard of Constantinian Coins from Langwith, York, 235-245

A Find from Shapwick, Somerset, 245-250

Coins from near Bridport, Dorset, 250-251

ROBINSON, E. S. G.

British Museum Greek Acquisitions for the years 1933-1934, 169-201

A Find of Archaic Coins from South-west Asia Minor, 265-280

Coins from Petra, &c., 288-291
Roma, the representations of, 325-327

S.

Sardes, cistophori of, 9-10

Scotussa, bronze coin of, in the British Museum, 184

Shapwick, Roman coins from, 245-250

Simon, Thomas, genealogy of, 210-221; his possible share in the Guernsey seal, 220-221; his seal of Peter Carey, 226; his Westminster Abbey seal, 229-230; at the Restoration, 231-234

Simy . . ., Thessalian magistrate, 176

Singhal, C. R., notice of his Catalogue of Gujarat Coins, 264

Smyrna, cistophori of, 11-13; gold stater of, in the British Museum, 187-188

Sosibius, Thessalian magistrate, 176

Southsea, Roman coins from, 292-303

Sulaimān b. al-Ḥasan, sultan of Kilwa, 65-66

— b. al-Ḥusain, sultan of Kilwa, 68-70

SUTHERLAND, C. H. V.

A Late Roman Hoard from Kiddington, 82-87

The Hayle Hoard of Radiate Minimi, 202-210

Three Roman Coin-Hoards, 316-320

See also J. N. L. Myres

T.

Tāththivāibi of Lycia, coins of, in the British Museum, 194

Temnus, coins of, in the Ashmolean Museum, 286

Theodosian coins, finds of, 84-86

Thessalian League, coins of, in the British Museum, 175-181

Thrasyandr, magistrate of Cos, 193

Thrasylochus, Thessalian magistrate, 177

Thyatira, cistophori of, 22

Thyrrheium, a stater of, in the Ashmolean Museum, 255

TOYNBEE, Miss J. M. C.
Notice of H. Mattingly, *Catalogue of Coins of the Roman Empire*, vol. iii, 324-330

U.

Ulrich-Bansa, O., notice of his *Note sulla Zecca di Aquileia Romana*, 333-335

Upper Holker, Roman coins found at, 317

V.

Vaballathus of Palmyra, 94-114; coins of, 102-103

Valentinian III and mint of Aquileia, 333-334

Valerian in the east, 91-93

W.

WALKER, JOHN.

The History and Coinage of the Sultans of Kilwa, 43-81

Is the Caliph bare-headed on Umayyad Coins?, 321-323

Weber, Wilhelm, Notice of his *Principes*, vol. i, 335-336

Westminster Abbey, Thomas Simon's seal of, 229-230

Whitechurch hoard compared with

Hayle, 206-207

WHITEHEAD, R. B.

Review of Catalogue of Coins
of the Sultans of Gujarat,
264

X.

Xenophantes, magistrate of Cos,
193

Xenophon, Thessalian magistrate,
175

Xerxes of Armenia, coins of, in
the British Museum, 197-198

Y.

Yorkshire, Constantinian hoards
from, 244

Z.

Zabdas, Palmyrene general, 95

Zenobia of Palmyra, 94-114

Zenoposeidon *see* Zeus Osogoa

Zeus Karios on cistophori, 7

— Labrandeus on cistophori, 6

— Lairbenos on cistophori, 21

— Laodiceus on cistophori, 18-
19

— Osogoa on cistophori, 6

— Stratios on cistophori, 6

Zephyrion, magistrate of Cos, 193



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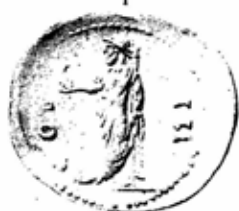
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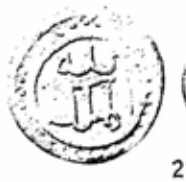
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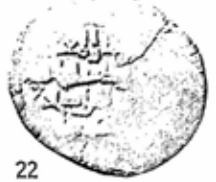
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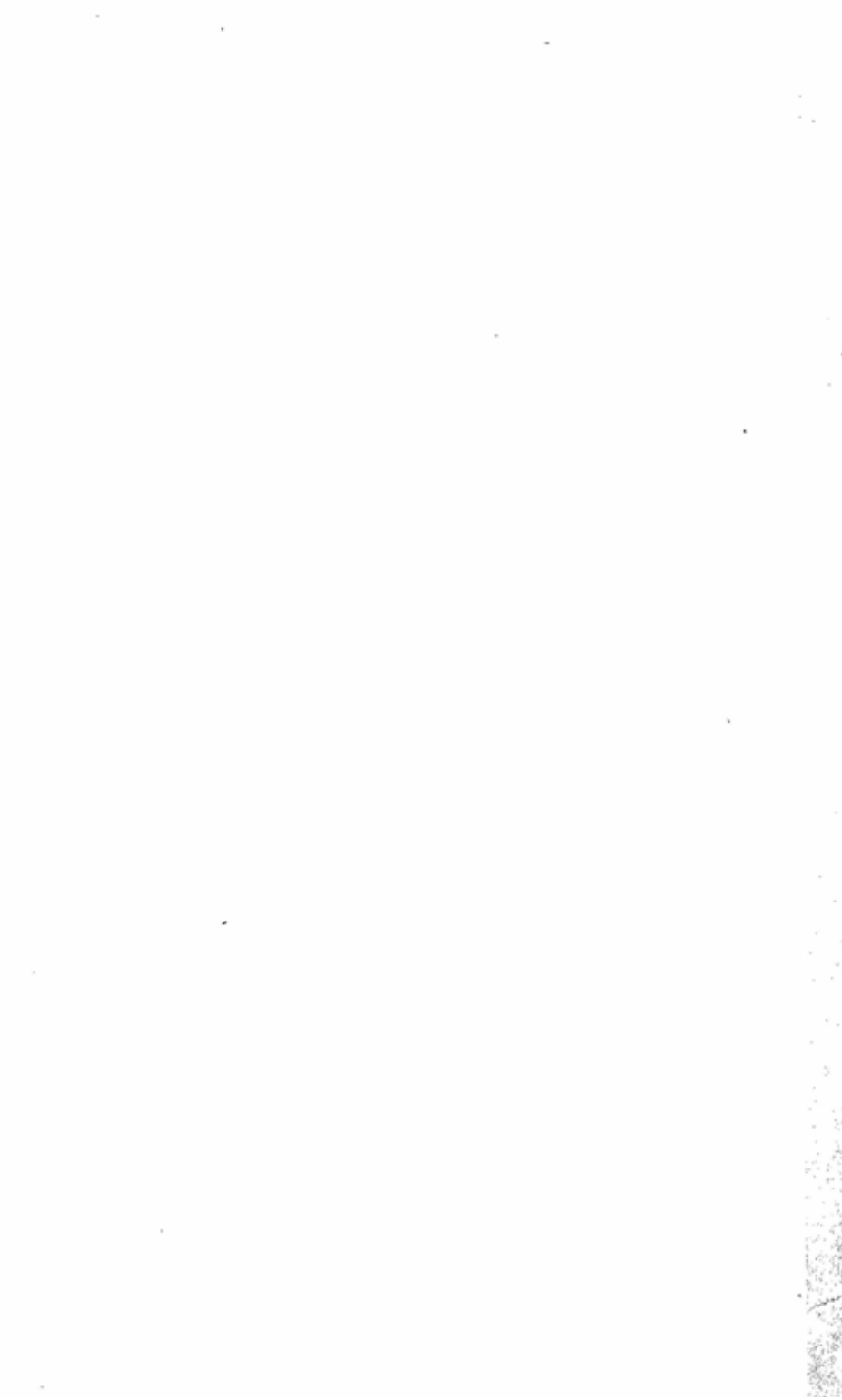
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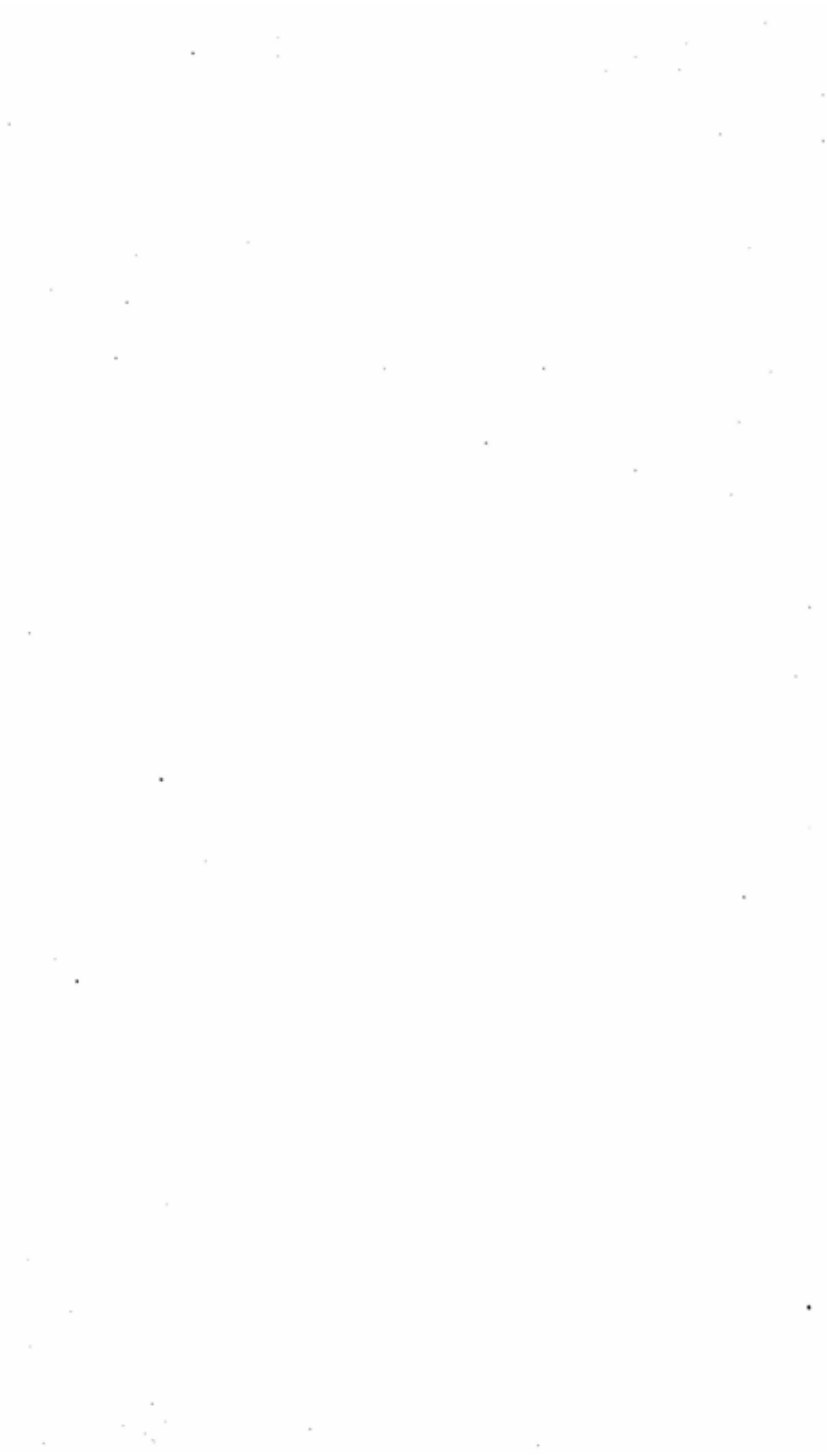


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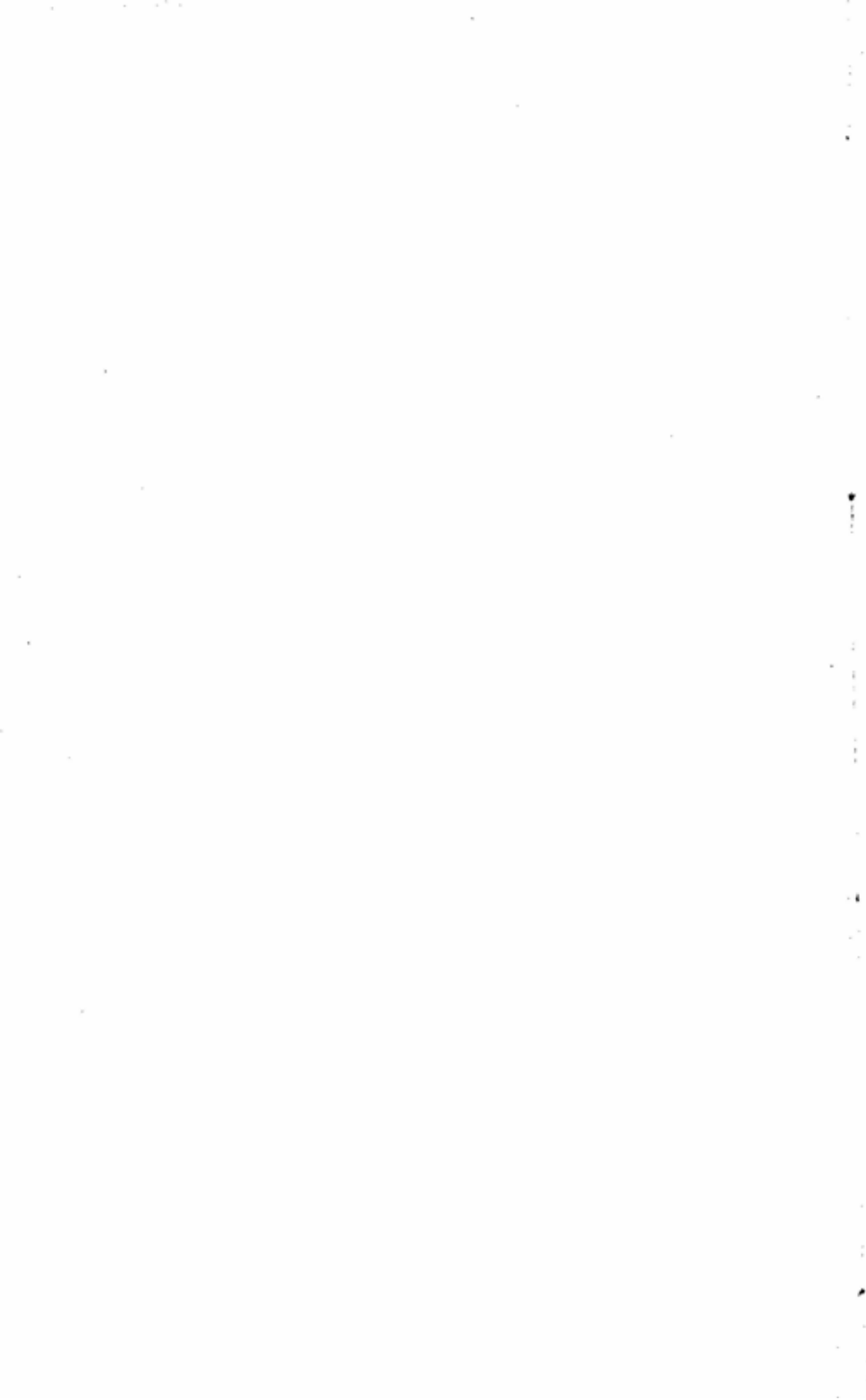


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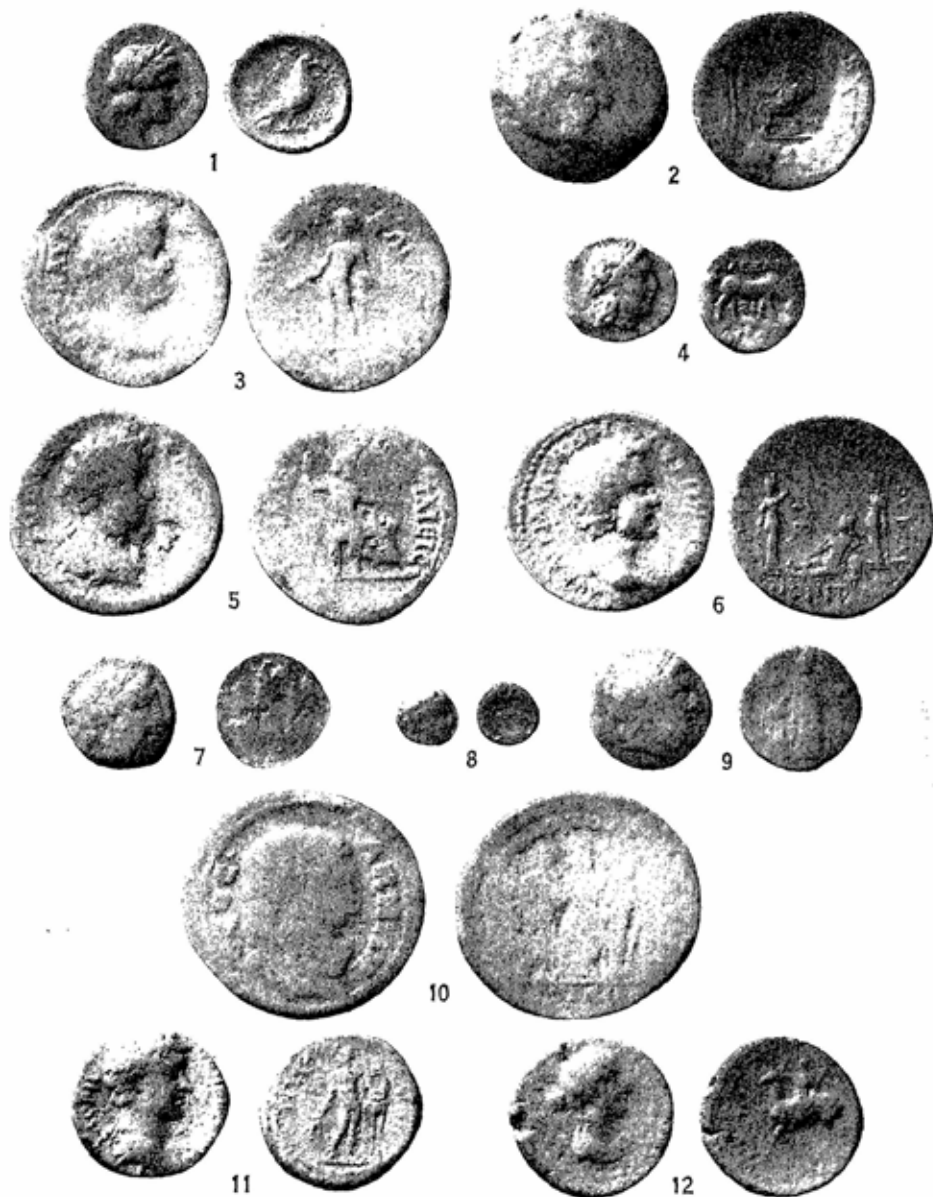
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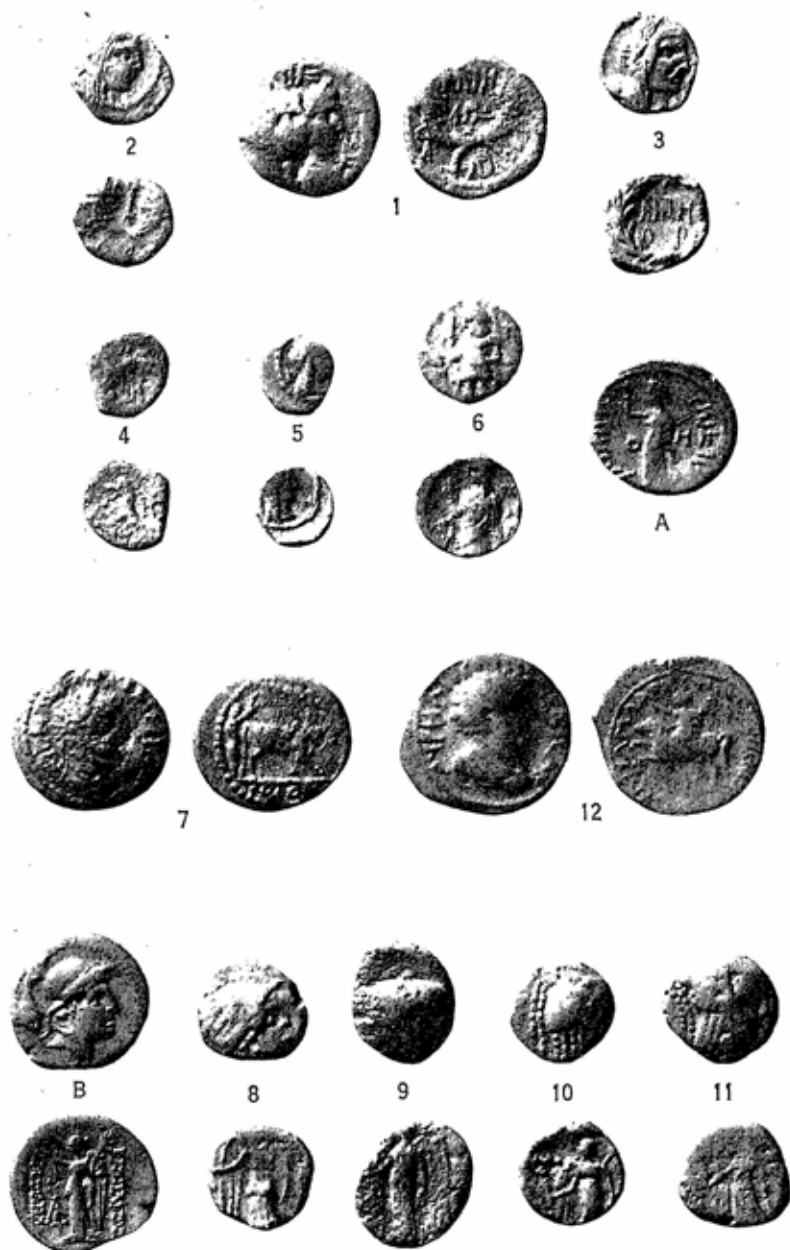
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- 1934 *MABBOTT, PROF. T. O., 1232 Madison Avenue, New York City, U.S.A.
- 1895 MACDONALD, SIR GEORGE, K.C.B., M.A., LL.D., D.Litt., F.B.A., 17 Learmonth Gardens, Edinburgh.
- 1901 MACFADYEN, FRANK E., Esq., 17 St. George's Terrace, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
- 1923 MALLINSON, REV. ARNOLD, c/o St. Frideswide's Vicarage, Oxford.
- 1932 MARTIN, CAPTAIN M. F. C., R.E., Ardlonghor, Killylea, Co. Armagh.
- 1912 MATTINGLY, HAROLD, Esq., M.A., British Museum, W.C. 1, *Hon. Secretary.*
- 1905 MAVROGORDATO, J., Esq., Gilridge, Cowden Pound, Edenbridge, Kent.
- 1929 McNICKLE, A. J. S., Esq., c/o Royal Mail Steam Packet Co., Royal Mail House, E.C. 2.
- 1916 MEIGH, ALFRED, Esq., Dole Spring House, Forsbrook, Stoke-on-Trent.
- 1905 MESSENGER, LEOPOLD G. P., Esq., 151 Brecknock Road, Tufnell Park, N. 19.
- 1928 MIDDLETON, LAWRENCE H., Esq., M.A., 11 A High Street, N.W. 8.
- 1934 MIDDLETON, PIERCE, Esq., 6 Ramsay Gardens, Edinburgh.
- 1929 MILBANK, S. R., Esq., Panfield, Huntingdon, New York, U.S.A.
- 1924 MILLER, HOYT, Esq., East Shore Road, Great Neck, Long Island, New York, U.S.A.
- 1897 MILNE, J. GRAFTON, Esq., M.A., D.Litt., 23 Belsyre Court, Woodstock Road, Oxford.
- 1921 MILNE, MRS. J. GRAFTON, 23 Belsyre Court, Woodstock Road, Oxford.
- 1932 MITCHELL, D. D., Esq., 19 Norman Avenue, St. Margaret's, Twickenham.
- 1910 MITCHELL LIBRARY, THE, Glasgow, The Librarian.
- 1888 MONTAGUE, LIEUT.-COL. L. A. D., Penton, near Crediton, Devon.
- 1933 MYERS, OLIVER H., Esq., 200 Euston Road, N.W. 1.
- 1916 *MYLNE, EVERARD, Esq., B.A., St. Andrew's College, Grahamstown, South Africa.
- 1928 *NAVILLE, MONSIEUR LUCIEN, 5-7 Rue Lévrier, Geneva.
- 1906 NEWBERRY LIBRARY, The Librarian, Chicago, U.S.A.
- 1905 *NEWELL, E. T., Esq., President of the American Numismatic Society, 156th Street, West of Broadway, New York, U.S.A.

ELECTED

- 1904 NEWINGTON PUBLIC LIBRARY, The Librarian, Walworth Road, S.E. 17.
- 1931 NIETER, HANS M., Esq., 41 A Golders Green Road, N.W. 11.
- 1930 NORTHUMBERLAND, THE DUKE OF, 17 Princes Gate, S.W. 7.
- 1936 NOTMAN, JOHN W., Esq., 79 B Philbeach Gardens, S.W. 5.
- 1882 OMAN, PROFESSOR SIR CHARLES, M.P., K.B.E., M.A., D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A., F.B.A., Frewin Hall, Oxford, *Vice-President*.
- 1925 OMAN, CHARLES CHICHELE, Esq., M.A., Victoria and Albert Museum, S.W. 7.
- 1931 O'NEIL, B. H. St. J., Esq., M.A., F.S.A., 14 Crescent Road, Beckenham, Kent.
- 1932 OSLO, Universitetets Myntkabinet, Norway.
- 1922 PAKENHAM, IVO R. R. L., Esq., St. James's Club, 106 Piccadilly, W. 1.
- 1903 PARSONS, H. ALEXANDER, Esq., Frampton Place, Frampton Mansell, Near Stroud, Glos.
- 1936 PEARCE, BERTRAM W., Esq., F.S.A., Sunnymead, Ash Road, Sandwich.
- 1926 PEARCE, J. W. E., Esq., M.A., F.S.A., 10 Cromwell Place, S.W. 7.
- 1936 PHILIP-PHILLIPS, GODFREY S., Esq., 118 Queen's Gate, S.W. 7.
- 1927 PINCHES, JOHN ROBERT, Esq., 21 Albert Embankment, S.E. 11.
- 1928 PIRIE GORDON, H., Esq., D.S.C., M.A., 46 Addison Avenue, W. 11.
- 1927 POND, SHEPARD, Esq., 258 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
- 1936 POOLE, WILLIAM E., Esq., 45 Cromwell Road, Beckenham, Kent.
- 1923 PRAGUE, Bibliothèque de l'Université, Czecho-Slovakia.
- 1890 RAPSON, PROFESSOR E. J., M.A., M.R.A.S., 8 Mortimer Road, Cambridge.
- 1935 RASHLEIGH, J. C. S., Esq., M.A., M.D., Throwleigh, Okehampton, Devon.
- 1923 RAVEL, MONSIEUR O., 7 Bd. de Lorraine, Pointe Rouge, Marseilles.
- 1930 RAWSON, L. H., Esq., Atholl Bank, Lovelace Gardens, Surbiton.

ELECTED

- 1909 RAYMOND, WAYTE, Esq., 465 Park Avenue, New York City, U.S.A.
- 1933 READHEAD, K.R.R., Esq., 157 Woodcote Valley Road, Purley, Surrey.
- 1933 ROBERTS, KENNETH L., Esq., Aberdale, 2 South Road, Newton Abbot.
- 1911 *ROBINSON, E. S. G., Esq., M.A., F.S.A., 23 Upper Phillimore Gardens, W. 8.
- 1910 ROGERS, THE VERY REV. EDGAR, O.B.E., M.A., F.S.A., The Deanery, Bocking, Essex.
- 1924 ROWE, CAPTAIN FRANCIS G. C., 65 Finborough Road, S.W. 10.
- 1919 RYAN, V. J. E., Esq., Les Silleries, Grouville, Jersey, C.I.
- 1916 SAINT LOUIS NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., U.S.A.
- 1916 *SALISBURY, F. S., Esq., M.A., Dorset House, Parkland Grove, Ashford, Middlesex.
- 1935 SASSOON, DAVID C., Esq., 12A Wildcroft Manor, S.W. 15.
- 1917 SEABY, B. A., Esq., 65 Great Portland Street, W. 1.
- 1907 *SELTMAN, CHARLES T., Esq., M.A., Queens' College Cambridge.
- 1890 SELTMAN, E. J., Esq., Villa Maria, S. Giorgio a Cremano, Naples.
- 1936 SHEAR, MRS. T. LESLIE, 12 Battle Road, Princeton, N.J., U.S.A.
- 1913 SHIRLEY-FOX, J. S., Esq., R.B.A., 16 Brock Street, Bath.
- 1893 *SIMS, BRIG.-GENERAL R. F. MANLEY-, C.M.G., D.S.O., 163 Strand, W.C. 2.
- 1934 SMITH, WELBORN OWSTON, Esq., M.A., 41 Molyneux Park, Tunbridge Wells.
- 1905 SNELLING, EDWARD, Esq., 8 Amberley Road, E. 10.
- 1930 SNIJDER, PROFESSOR G. A. S., Allard Pierson Stichting, Weesperzijde 33, Amsterdam (O.).
- 1922 SPENCER-CHURCHILL, CAPT. E. G., M.C., F.S.A., Northwick Park, Blockley, Worcestershire.
- 1936 SPINK, DAVID F., Esq., 5-7 King Street, S.W. 1.
- 1894 SPINK, SAMUEL M., Esq., 5-7 King Street, S.W. 1.
- 1902 STAINER, CHARLES LEWIS, Esq., Woodhouse, Iffley, Oxford.
- 1928 STEBBING, W. P. D., Esq., F.S.A., Fiveways, Deal.
- 1932 STEWART, JAMES R., Esq., Park Cottage, Kingsdown, Taunton.

ELECTED

- 1931 STRAUSS, M. LOUIS, Cala Ratjada, Capdepera, Mallorca, Spain.
- 1933 SUTHERLAND, ALLAN, Esq., 14 Clifton Terrace, Wellington, New Zealand.
- 1936 SUTHERLAND, C. H. V., Esq., B.A., 13 Park Terrace, Oxford.
- 1914 SYDENHAM, REV. EDWARD A., M.A., The Vicarage, West Molesey, Surrey.
- 1896 *TAFPS, H. W., Esq., M.B.E., 27 Elderslie Road, Eltham, S.E. 9.
- 1919 TARAPOREVALA, VICAJI D. B., Esq., Tarapore Villa, 79 Koregaon Park, Poona, C. P., India.
- 1925 THOMAS, CECIL, Esq., 7 Gloucester Terrace, S.W. 7.
- 1920 THOMAS, J. ROCHELLE, Esq., 18 Ilchester Place, W. 14.
- 1936 THOMPSON, JAMES DAVID ANTHONY, Esq., 5 Chadlington Road, Oxford.
- 1918 THORBURN, PHILIP, Esq., B.A., 86 Rochester Row, S.W. 1.
- 1935 TINCHANT, M. PAUL, 19 Avenue des Arts, Brussels.
- 1929 TORONTO, University of, The Librarian, Canada.
- 1894 †TRIGGS, A. B., Esq., 33 Macquarie Place, Sydney, New South Wales.
- 1934 ULRICH-BANSA, COLONELE, OSCAR, 9 Riviera S. Nicolò, Venice (Lido), Italy.
- 1912 VAN BUREN, DR. A. W., American Academy, Porta San Pancrazio, Rome (29).
- 1916 VANES, REV. J. A., Morton House, Cheddleton, Leek, Staffs.
- 1899 †VLASTO, MICHEL P., Esq., Kerrasoundos I, Avenue de la Reine Sophie, Athens (Att.), Greece.
- 1923 WALES, THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF, Cardiff.
- 1932 WALKER, JOHN, Esq., M.A., M.R.A.S., British Museum, W.C. 1.
- 1924 WALLWORTH, I. N. G., Esq., Fairbanks, Stanley Park Road, Carshalton.
- 1911 WARRE, FELIX W., Esq., O.B.E., M.C., 128 Church Street, W. 8.
- 1920 *WATSON, COMMANDER HAROLD NEWALL, R.N.
- 1901 WEBB, PERCY H., Esq., M.B.E., 4 and 5 West Smithfield, E.C. 1, *President*.

ELECTED

- 1885 *WEBER, F. PARKES, Esq., M.D., F.S.A., 13 Harley Street, W. 1.
- 1932 WERNSTROM, ERNEST, Esq., P.O. Box 384, San Francisco, U.S.A.
- 1915 WHITEHEAD, R. B., Esq., M.A., M.R.A.S., I.C.S. (retd.), 30 Millington Road, Cambridge.
- 1910 WILLIAMS, W. I., Esq., Bryn Deri, Hereford Road, Abergavenny.
- 1934 WILTSHIRE, R. G., Esq., Longhouse Lodge, Ermyn Way, Leatherhead.
- 1906 WOOD, HOWLAND, Esq., Curator of the American Numismatic Society, 156th Street, W. of Broadway, New York, U.S.A.
- 1933 WOOD, MISS MARGARET ENVYS, 1 Devonshire Street, W. 1.
- 1920 *WOODWARD, A. M. TRACEY, Esq., Chateau Millefleurs, Cadaujac, Gironde, France.
- 1920 WOODWARD, W. H., Esq., 38 Campden Hill Gate, W. 8.
- 1903 WRIGHT, H. NELSON, Esq., I.C.S. (retd.), The Larches, West Hall Road, Upper Warlingham, Surrey.
- 1936 WRIGHTSON, ARTHUR G., Esq., 11 Phillimore Terrace, W. 8.
- 1933 WÜTHRICH, G., Esq., M.I.E.E., 81 Pursers Cross Road, S.W. 6.
- 1922 YOANNA, A. DE, Esq., B.A., M.D., 111 Pierrepont Street, Brooklyn, New York, U.S.A.
- 1932 YORKSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, 10 Park Place, Leeds.
- 1880 †YOUNG, ARTHUR W., Esq., 12 Hyde Park Terrace, W. 2.
- 1919 ZIEGLER, PHILIP, Esq., Lilly Villa, Victoria Park, Manchester.

HONORARY FELLOWS

ELECTED

- 1898 HIS MAJESTY VICTOR EMMANUEL III, KING OF ITALY,
Palazzo Quirinale, Rome.
- 1930 ALFÖLDI, PROFESSOR ANDREAS, Ferencz Jozef Rakpart 25,
Budapest.
- 1898 BLANCHET, Monsieur ADRIEN, Membre de l'Institut, 10 Bd.
Émile Augier, Paris XVI.
- 1935 CESANO, SIGNORINA L., Museo Nazionale, Rome.
- 1926 DIEUDONNÉ, MONSIEUR A., Conservateur des Médailles,
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
- 1899 GABRICI, PROFESSOR DR. ETTORE, Via Formale 30, Naples.
- 1904 †KUBITSCHKEK, PROFESSOR J. W., Pichlergasse 1, Vienna IX.
- 1932 LAFFRANCHI, SIGNOR L., via Carlo Ravizza 19, Milan.
- 1904 MAURICE, M. JULES, 15 Rue Vaneau, Paris VII.
- 1899 PICK, DR. BEHRENDT, Schwäbische Strasse 9, Berlin, W. 30.
- 1926 TOURNEUR, PROFESSOR VICTOR, Conservateur en chef de la
Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels.

MEDALLISTS

OF THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

ELECTED

- 1883 CHARLES ROACH SMITH, F.S.A.
- 1884 AQUILLA SMITH, Esq., M.D., M.R.I.A.
- 1885 EDWARD THOMAS, F.R.S.
- 1886 MAJOR-GENERAL ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM, C.S.I., C.I.E.
- 1887 JOHN EVANS, D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., P.S.A.
- 1888 DR. F. IMHOOF-BLUMER, Winterthur.
- 1889 PROFESSOR PERCY GARDNER, Litt.D., F.S.A.
- 1890 MONSIEUR J. P. SIX, Amsterdam.
- 1891 DR. C. LUDWIG MÜLLER, Copenhagen.
- 1892 PROFESSOR R. STUART POOLE, LL.D.
- 1893 M. W. H. WADDINGTON, Sénateur, Membre de l'Institut, Paris.
- 1894 CHARLES FRANCIS KEARY, M.A., F.S.A.
- 1895 PROFESSOR DR. THEODOR MOMMSEN, Berlin.
- 1896 FREDERIC W. MADDEN, M.R.A.S.
- 1897 DR. ALFRED VON SALLET, Berlin.
- 1898 THE REV. CANON W. GREENWELL, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.
- 1899 M. ERNEST BABELON, Membre de l'Institut, Paris.
- 1900 PROFESSOR STANLEY LANE-POOLE, M.A., Litt.D.
- 1901 S. E. BARON WLADIMIR VON TIESSENHAUSEN, St. Petersburg.
- 1902 ARTHUR J. EVANS, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.
- 1903 M. GUSTAVE SCHLUMBERGER, Membre de l'Institut, Paris.
- 1904 HIS MAJESTY VICTOR EMMANUEL III, KING OF ITALY.
- 1905 SIR HERMANN WEBER, M.D.
- 1906 COMM. FRANCESCO GNECCHI, Milan.
- 1907 BARCLAY V. HEAD, D.Litt., D.C.L., Ph.D., Corr. de l'Inst.
- 1908 PROFESSOR DR. HEINRICH DRESSSEL, Berlin.
- 1909 HERBERT A. GRUEBER, F.S.A.
- 1910 DR. FRIEDRICH EDLER VON KENNER, Vienna.
- 1911 OLIVER CODRINGTON, M.D., M.R.A.S., F.S.A.
- 1912 GENERAL-LEUTNANT MAX VON BAHRFELDT, Hildesheim.
- 1913 GEORGE MACDONALD, Esq., M.A., LL.D.
- 1914 JEAN N. SVORONOS, Athens.
- 1915 GEORGE FRANCIS HILL, Esq., M.A.
- 1916 M. THÉODORE REINACH, Membre de l'Institut, Paris.
- 1917 L. A. LAWRENCE, Esq., F.S.A.
- 1918 Not awarded.
- 1919 M. ADRIEN BLANCHET, Membre de l'Institut, Paris.
- 1920 H. B. EARLE-FOX, Esq., and J. S. SHIRLEY-FOX, Esq.
- 1921 PERCY H. WEBB, Esq.
- 1922 FREDERICK A. WALTERS, F.S.A.
- 1923 PROFESSOR J. W. KUBITSCHKE, Vienna.
- 1924 HENRY SYMONDS, F.S.A.
- 1925 EDWARD T. NEWELL, Esq., New York.

ELECTED

- 1926 R. W. MACLACHLAN, Montreal.
- 1927 M. A. DIEUDONNÉ, Paris.
- 1928 SIR CHARLES OMAN, K.B.E., M.P., D.C.L., F.B.A.
- 1929 MONSIEUR JULES MAURICE, Paris.
- 1930 REV. EDWARD A. SYDENHAM, M.A.
- 1931 MISS HELEN FARQUHAR.
- 1932 H. NELSON WRIGHT, Esq., I.C.S. (retd.).
- 1933 DIREKTOR PROFESSOR KURT REGLING, Berlin.
- 1934 GEORGE CYRIL BROOKE (posthumously).
- 1935 PROFESSOR DR. BEHRENDT PICK, Gotha.
- 1936 JOHN ALLAN, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE
ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

SESSION 1935—1936.

OCTOBER 17, 1935.

ORDINARY MEETING.

PERCY H. WEBB, Esq., M.B.E., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Meeting of May 16 were read and approved.

Presents to the Society were announced and thanks ordered to be sent to the donors.

Mr. David C. Sassoon was proposed for election as a Fellow of the Society.

Mr. Gilbert exhibited an aureus of Carus from the Trau sale (lot 3155).

Mr. L. G. P. Messenger showed a didrachm of Claudius with *rev.* DE BRITANNIS.

Mr. Frederick A. Harrison exhibited a series of coins of United Italy, of Italian Somaliland and Abyssinia, and of Egypt and Albania.

Mr. Henry Garside showed the nickel one-and-half piastres of Cyprus, 1934, with scalloped edge, the Mauritius rupee of 1934 with "security" edge, and the half-cent of Sarawak of 1934 (m.m. H).

Mr. Mattingly read a paper on the coinage of Palmyra and the influence of the Palmyrenes at the imperial mints of Antioch and Alexandria. He sketched briefly the rise of Palmyra and its increasing importance from the reign of Septimius Severus, and showed how, after the captivity of Valerian, the able Odenathus raised it to something like

imperial power. The coinage of Antioch was seen to undergo certain interruptions and perturbations between A.D. 257 and 272, and these were naturally connected with the political conditions of the time. It was shown to be probable that Macrianus II and Quietus struck at an Eastern mint other than Antioch, that Antioch was in Palmyrene hands and struck under Palmyrene influence for Gallienus and Claudius from *circa* A.D. 262 to 270, and that the appearance of Vaballathus beside, and then in place of Aurelian in A.D. 270-1, represents the definite breach with Rome. The mint of Alexandria was next examined and shown to tell a story similar to that of Antioch. Some peculiarities of Antioch during this period were noticed, and it was suggested that they were due to the Palmyrene influence on the mint. (This paper is printed in this volume of the *Num. Chron.*, pp. 89-114.)

NOVEMBER 21, 1935.

ORDINARY MEETING.

PERCY H. WEBB, Esq., M.B.E., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and approved.

Mr. David C. Sassoon was elected a Fellow of the Society.

Presents to the Society were announced and thanks ordered to be sent to the donors.

The evening was devoted to exhibitions.

Mr. Gilbert showed a very fine series of aurei of Domitian (Cohen 663, 45, 48, 50, 29, 319, 609, 146, 148).

Mr. Henry Garside showed a proof set of the New Zealand coinage of 1935, from the crown to the threepence.

Mr. K. R. R. Readhead showed the shilling and sixpence of 1884 and 1863, all very rare coins.

Mr. Frederick A. Harrison exhibited a series of coins of German and British East Africa and recent coins of Greece.

Mr. Nelson Wright exhibited a unique half-mohur of the Moghul Emperor Jahangar.

Mr. Webb exhibited two antoniniani of Julian of Pannonia, one fine and the other of interest as having been found at Felpham, near Bognor.

Mr. P. Thorburn showed a mohur of the Durrani Mahmud Shah of Herat, A.H. 1213.

Mr. Owston Smith showed double-talers of Sachsen-Lauenburg and Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, a 1½-taler of Mecklenburg, and a 3-taler piece of Brunswick Lüneburg.

DECEMBER 19, 1935.

ORDINARY MEETING.

PERCY H. WEBB, Esq., M.B.E., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and approved.

Presents to the Society were announced and thanks ordered to be sent to the donors.

Messrs. W. R. Gourlay, C.S.I., Bertram W. Pearce, F.S.A., and C. H. V. Sutherland were proposed for election.

Mr. A. H. F. Baldwin exhibited a fine restoration angel of Henry VI.

Mr. Garside exhibited the nickel 50, 20, and 10 centimes of St Thomas and Prince Islands, 1929, and the Straits Settlements ½-cent, 1932.

Mr. Ivo Pakenham exhibited a restoration groat of Henry VI with "Gracia" in full.

Mr. Gilbert showed an aureus of Licinius II (Coh. 28, wt. 81 gr.); *obv.* facing bust, *rev* Jupiter seated; and a second brass of Caligula on a first brass flan.

Mr. C. E. Blunt showed a series of groats to illustrate Mr. Allen's paper and a very rare half-groat and halfpenny of London of Henry VI.

Mr. Derek Allen read a paper on the "Restoration Coinage of Henry VI of the Tower Mint". It was pointed out that this reign should provide the clue to the initial marks of Edward IV, and an attempt was made to show the precise point at which the coinage of Edward IV was interrupted by the restoration coinage of Henry VI. Evidence was brought to show the order of the initial marks under Henry VI from which it was possible to deduce that the initial marks at this period had no relation to the trials of the pyx. (This paper will be printed in the *Numismatic Chronicle*.)

JANUARY 21, 1936.

ORDINARY MEETING.

PERCY H. WEBB, Esq., M.B.E., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and approved.

Messrs. W. R. Gourlay, C.S.I., Bertram W. Pearce, F.S.A., and C. H. V. Sutherland were elected Fellows of the Society.

Mr. Nelson Wright exhibited two *nizar* pieces of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb.

Mr. William Gilbert exhibited two very fine aurei of Nero Claudius Drusus struck in the reign of Claudius: 1. *rev.* triumphal arch, DE GERM. (Coh. 1, wt. 120.5); and 2. *rev.* crossed shields and spears, DE GERMANIS (Coh. 2, wt. 120).

Mr. L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A., read a paper entitled "Some Reminiscences of the Royal Numismatic Society" in which he gave an account of the foundation of the Society, sketched its history, and dealt more particularly with the personalities he had known in his fifty years' membership. The Vice-President, Mr. Caldecott, and Mr. Taffs also spoke of earlier well-known members with whom they had been acquainted.

FEBRUARY 20, 1936.

ORDINARY MEETING.

SIR GEORGE MACDONALD, K.C.B., LL.D., D.Litt., F.B.A.,
President, in the Chair.

The following resolution and address to His Majesty the King was passed :

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

May it please Your Majesty,

We, the President, Council, and Fellows of the Royal Numismatic Society, in Special Meeting assembled, desire to be allowed to present our humble duty to Your Majesty.

Deeply moved by the grievous loss which the Nation, the Empire, and men of goodwill throughout the world have sustained through the death of our beloved Sovereign and Patron, King George the Fifth, we venture to offer our heartfelt sympathy to Your Majesty, to Queen Mary, and to the whole Royal House, commending all to the infinite goodness and mercy of Him who alone can heal the broken in heart and bind up their wounds.

At the same time, happy in the knowledge that Your Majesty is supremely qualified to maintain undimmed the splendour of the traditions attached to the British Crown we beg leave to tender to Your Majesty our cordial congratulations on Your Majesty's Accession to the Throne, and to express the hope that in the Providence of Almighty God, Your Majesty may long be spared to guide the destinies of a happy and contented People in paths of pleasantness and peace.

The active interest which Your Majesty has constantly manifested in all that concerns the advancement of knowledge encourages us most respectfully to ask that Your Majesty may be graciously pleased to continue to our Corporate Body that beneficent Patronage first extended to it when the Charter was granted in the year 1904 by Your Majesty's Royal Grandfather and subsequently enjoyed for more than a quarter of a century at the hands of Your Majesty's Royal Father, Whose death we deplore so profoundly.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and approved.

Presents to the Society were announced and thanks ordered to be sent to the donors.

Mr. Godfrey S. Philip-Phillips was proposed for election.

Mr. Garside exhibited a set of the new silver coinage of Udaipur State, one, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{8}$, and $\frac{1}{16}$ rupee.

Mr. W. Gilbert exhibited an aureus of Probus, *rev.* Victory in biga (Coh. 786, wt. 84.5), and a unique denarius of Severus II, the only silver coin known of this emperor (from the Weber and Vierordt collection).

Mr. Nelson Wright exhibited six specimens of the small largesse money of the Moghul emperor.

Mr. Webb showed a medal of St. Stephen's Church, Vienna, found by a British soldier in the Cloth Hall in Ypres during the war.

Mr. W. Owston Smith exhibited a taler of Anton Ulrich of Wolfenbüttel, 1702; a four-mark piece (Schimfptaler) of Frederick III of Denmark, 1659; a memorial $1\frac{1}{2}$ taler on the death of Frederick I of Gotha, 1691; and a taler (Schimfptaler) of Christian of Wolfenbüttel and Halberstadt, 1622.

The Rev. E. A. Sydenham read a note on a tetradrachm of Antiochus IV restruck by Antiochus VI of Syria, which he showed with two other Seleucid tetradrachms. (This paper will be published in this volume of the *Numismatic Chronicle*.)

Mr. Allan read a paper by Miss Robertson in which she reconstructed the history of a large find of Roman silver at Abergele in 1842. (This paper is published in the *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 1936, pp. 188-201.)

MARCH 17, 1936.

ORDINARY MEETING.

PERCY H. WEBB, Esq., M.B.E., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and approved.

Presents to the Society were announced and thanks ordered to be sent to the donors.

Mr. Godfrey S. Philip-Phillips was elected a Fellow of the Society.

Mr. Nelson Wright exhibited some rare small nizar pieces of the Moghul empire.

Mr. W. Gilbert showed a fine aureus of Geta (Coh. 89, wt. 110.5), from the Karnak find.

Mr. John Walker read a paper on the history and coinage of Kilwa, in which he gave an account of the history of the Arab dynasty of Kilwa in East Africa based mainly on their coins and supplemented by the accounts in the Portuguese and native chronicles. (This paper is printed in this volume of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, pp. 43-81.)

APRIL 16, 1936.

ORDINARY MEETING.

PERCY H. WEBB, Esq., M.B.E., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and approved.

The following letter from the Keeper of the Privy Purse was read:

PRIVY PURSE OFFICE,

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, S.W.

8th April 1936.

Dear Sir,

I am commanded by The King to inform you that His Majesty has been graciously pleased to grant his Patronage to the Royal Numismatic Society.

Yours truly,

(Signed) WIGRAM

Keeper of the Privy Purse

The President,

Royal Numismatic Society,
22 Russell Square, W.C. 1.

The following letter from the Home Secretary was read :

HOME OFFICE,
WHITEHALL.

27th March 1936

Sir,

I have had the honour to lay before the King the Loyal and Dutiful Address of the President, Council, and Fellows of the Royal Numismatic Society, on the occasion of the lamented death of His late Majesty King George the Fifth and have received the King's Commands to convey to you His Majesty's grateful Thanks for the assurances of sympathy and devotion to which it gives expression.

I am,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

(Signed) JOHN SIMON.

The Honorary Secretary,
The Royal Numismatic Society.

Presents to the Society were announced and thanks ordered to be sent to their donors.

Mr. B. G. Wrightson was proposed for election as a Fellow of the Society.

Mr. R. Cyril Lockett, F.S.A., exhibited a very fine gold stater of Gortyna in Crete, of which only two other specimens are known, and a drachm of Eretria.

Mr. Gilbert showed a first brass of Julia Maesa, *rev.* Pudicitia, and a solidus of Constantine III.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A., showed a series of coins in illustration of Mr. Mattingly's paper.

Mr. H. Mattingly gave a lecture on the Roman monetary system of 269, in which he sketched the views held on the origin of the Roman coinage, reviewed the coinage of contemporary mints, and made many interesting comparisons of types. He explained the evidence for the later date for the beginning of Roman coinage and suggested what were the earliest coins.

MAY 21, 1936.

ORDINARY MEETING.

PERCY H. WEBB, Esq., M.B.E., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and approved.

Messrs. W. Gilbert and L. G. P. Messenger were appointed to audit the Society's accounts.

Mr. A. G. Wrightson was elected a Fellow of the Society and Mr. Martin P. Charlesworth proposed for election.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence exhibited a bronze jug which contained a small hoard of Edward pennies found in Dunfermline, buried about 1345. (An account of the find will be published in this volume of the *Numismatic Chronicle*.)

Mr. Henry Garside exhibited the nickel penny and half-penny of Southern Rhodesia of 1936 and the $\frac{1}{4}$ -anna of 1932 of Tonk State, Rajputana.

Mr. W. Gilbert exhibited an aureus of Philip II (Coh. 52, wt. 55.8 gr.).

Miss Helen Farquhar read a paper entitled "New Light on Thomas Simon" in which she gave the results of the genealogical researches of Mr. Charles Anthony on the Simon family and their Guernsey connexions. She also showed that the hitherto unidentified medal (*Med. III.*, i, p. 332, no. 175, Pl. XXIX. 7) by Simon was a portrait of his cousin Peter Carey: a comparison with a portrait of the latter on a small seal still in the possession of his descendant made this certain. Miss Farquhar also showed from a document in Westminster Abbey a fine seal of Westminster School made by Simon in 1649, hitherto unknown. (This paper is printed in this volume of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, pp. 210-234.)

JUNE 18, 1936.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

SIR GEORGE MACDONALD, K.C.B., LL.D., D.Litt., F.S.A.,
President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Annual General Meeting of June 20,
1935, were read and approved.

Messrs. L. G. P. Messenger and D. C. Sassoon were
appointed scrutineers of the ballot.

Mr. Martin P. Charlesworth was elected a Fellow of the
Society.

The following Report of the Council was laid before the
Meeting :

The Council have again the honour to lay before you
their Annual Report on the state of the Royal Numismatic
Society.

They have pleasure in reporting that His Majesty the
King has been graciously pleased to become Patron of
the Society in succession to His late Majesty, George V.

It is with deep regret that they have to announce the
death of the following two Honorary Fellows :

Professor Dr. Kurt Regling.

General a. D., Professor Max von Bahrfeldt ;

and the following six ordinary Fellows :

Dr. Julius Cahn	R. H. Lawrence
R. J. Eidlitz	A. H. Lloyd
L. P. Johnston	Glen A. Taylor

They have also to report the resignation of two Fellows :
W. Gedney Beatty, Esq. | Frederick J. Brittan, Esq.

On the other hand they have to report the election of the
following seven ordinary Fellows :

Martin P. Charlesworth, Esq.	Godfrey S. Philip-Phillips, Esq.
W. R. Gourlay, Esq., C.S.I.	David C. Sassoon, Esq.
Bertram W. Pearce, Esq.	C. H. V. Sutherland, Esq.
	A. G. Wrightson, Esq.

The number of Fellows is therefore :

	Ordinary.	Honorary.	Total.
June, 1935	214	13	227
Since elected	7	—	7
	<hr/> 221	<hr/> 13	<hr/> 234
Deceased	6	2	8
Resigned	2	—	2
	<hr/> 213	<hr/> 11	<hr/> 224

The Council have also to report that they have awarded the Society's medal to Mr. John Allan, Keeper of Coins and Medals in the British Museum, in recognition of his services to the study of numismatics, particularly those of India.

The Treasurer's Report, which appears on pp. 14-15, was then laid before the Meeting :

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSE-

YEAR ENDING

1911.

THE SOCIETY IN ACCOUNT WITH

	£	s.	d.
To cost of Numismatic Chronicles (six numbers)	529	6	2
„ Rent	70	0	0
„ Printing, Postages, and Stationery	21	4	11
„ Refreshments, &c.	5	1	2
„ Lantern Expenses	9	15	0
„ Insurance	3	15	0
„ Address to H. M. The King	1	6	2
„ Printing of Bys-laws and Regulations	17	4	0
„ Sundries	8	14	7
	£666	7	0
„ Purchase of £158 London, Midland and Scottish Railway 4% Preference Stock @ 80½	127	11	8
„ Balance at Bank 31. 5. 36 carried forward— £ s. d.			
General Account	243	8	3
Research Account	5	10	0
	248	18	3
	£1,042	16	11

MENTS OF THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

31st May, 1936.

G. C. HAINES, HON. TREASURER.

Cr.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
<i>By Balance at Bank 31. 5. 35 brought forward—</i>						
General Account	484	18	8			
Research Account	5	0	0			
				489	18	8
„ Entrance Fees	7	7	0			
„ Life Membership Fee	31	10	0			
„ Subscriptions	318	9	6			
				357	6	6
„ Sales of Numismatic Chronicles				144	15	0
„ Dividends and Interest						
£200 5% Conversion Stock 1944-64 (N.B. Market						
Price @ 117½, £235 15s. 0d.)	10	0	0			
£1,100 London, Midland and Scottish Railway,						
4% Preference Stock (N.B. Market Price						
@ 86, £946)	40	16	9			
	50	16	9			
Less Income Tax deducted	11	8	9			
				39	8	0
„ Income Tax Recovered						
year ending 5. 4. 36				11	8	9
				£1,042	16	11

G. C. HAINES, *Hon. Treasurer.*

Audited and found correct,

LEOPOLD G. P. MESSENGER,

WILLIAM GILBERT,

Hon. Auditors.

June 12, 1936

The Reports of the Secretary and Treasurer were adopted on the motion of the President.

The President then handed the Society's Medal to Mr. Allan and said :

Mr. Allan,

I deem it fortunate that it should have fallen to my lot to be the medium of conferring on you the highest distinction which it is in our power to offer. Whether regard be had to the services you have rendered to our own Society or to the contributions you have made to one of the most obscure and difficult branches of the science to which we are devoted, there will be general agreement that our Medal has never been more worthily bestowed.

You became a Fellow in 1907, immediately after joining the staff of the British Museum. Little more than a year later you were chosen to fill the vacancy in the Secretariat, which was caused by the resignation of Mr. Grueber. You have held office continuously ever since, not seeking relief even after the duty of administering the Department of Coins and Medals had devolved upon your shoulders. How well the work has been done, we all know. During the anxieties of the War and its aftermath the Society's activities were never interrupted. The meetings were held as usual, and volume after volume of the *Numismatic Chronicle* appeared with the most praiseworthy regularity. Fifteen years ago, while still retaining your Secretaryship, you were elevated to the editorial hierarchy, and since 1931 you have occupied the senior position there. Thus for nearly a whole generation you have been largely responsible for the smoothness with which the machinery of the Society has worked and for the high degree of efficiency which it has maintained. The ceremony of this afternoon is a token of our gratitude.

But there are other and quite different reasons why we should wish to honour you. You have upheld in the most admirable manner the high traditions of the British Museum in their relation to the study of the history and the languages

of Ancient India. In that field your *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, which appeared in 1914, is a notable landmark. The masterly Introduction, based not merely on coins but on inscriptions, illuminated many dark corners of the fourth and fifth centuries of our era. In particular, your discovery that the legends on these pieces were metrical enabled missing words to be supplied and isolated fragments to be fitted together, with the result that much that was of historical interest was for the first time made intelligible. When your newly issued *Coins of Ancient India in the British Museum* is in the hands of readers, they will find it full of fresh and important matter, ranging as it does over the whole of Northern India and covering six centuries. The first half deals with the extensive series of silver coins known as "punch-marked". These markings were previously believed to be the handiwork of money-changers. You show them to have types as regular as the types of any other series, and to belong to a regular system. Moreover, you prove that they are not so old as was formerly supposed but are assignable to a limited period, probably not earlier than the Maurya dynasty (c. 320-150 B.C.). In the second half of the volume you attack a mass of unattractive and hitherto undigested material, copper coins issued by dynasties unknown to literature and in many cases to history. A careful study of provenance, types, and epigraphy has made it possible to allot them with some probability to a number of definite series and to fill up not a few gaps in our knowledge.

These are your *opera maiora*. There is, however, much else besides. You have contributed to the *Chronicle* papers on the coins of Assam and of the Maldivé Islands, on Offa's Gold Dinar, and periodically on acquisitions of Indian coins by the British Museum. You have edited volume IV of the *Catalogue of Coins in the India Museum*, comprising the issues of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. You have written "Ancient India" in the *Cambridge Shorter History of India*, besides writing or revising numerous articles on Indian history, philosophy, literature, and numismatics

in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, the *Encyclopaedia of Religions*, and the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Finally, amid all your preoccupation with the wisdom of the East, you have never lost sight of the rock whence you were hewn and the hole of the pit whence you were digged. Your communications to the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club reveal you as a devout lover of the wild and romantic country in and around the Cheviots. Personally, I know no one whom I would more readily consult on any difficult question of Scottish history or literature. If you cannot yourself supply the answer, you can generally be trusted to say where it is to be found.

I have great pleasure in asking you to accept the Society's Medal.

In reply Mr. Allan said :

I have, in the first place, to thank the Council of the Society for the honour they have done me in choosing me as their medallist in this, the centenary year of the Society. I have also to thank you, Sir George, for the kindness of your remarks in presenting it, and to all of you I am grateful for the way in which you have received these much too flattering words. My natural reaction on being told of the honour in store for me was to say that it is too early, but second thoughts led to the sobering reflection that I have been nearly thirty years in the Museum and for twenty-eight I have been Secretary of the Society. While deducing that these years have not been misspent, I nevertheless still feel that you are rewarding one who has not completed his task and who, I trust, may be spared to earn more fully a distinction which for the present he would like to regard as premature.

In becoming Secretary of the Society in 1908, I continued the tradition which Mr. Grueber had upheld for thirty-four years before me, of maintaining the close association between the working of this Society and the Medal Room of the British Museum, and I can only hope it has been of as much benefit to the Society as I know it has to the Museum. I

need only say that my colleagues and I will continue to maintain the traditions of the Medal Room and see that the various branches of the collection there are always freely accessible, and that our knowledge is available to the humblest inquirer. The demands on the staff have increased enormously in recent years and this has resulted in a considerable slowing down of what used to be considered the main work of the Department, namely, the publication of Catalogues. One can only hope that the prestige of the Department is equally well being maintained and the progress of knowledge furthered by the prompt satisfaction of the very varied inquiries for information and guidance which reach us in such numbers.

As to my own special work in Indian History, it is a field in which coins count for a great deal, and one in which Members of this Society have been prominent from the days of Wilson, Thomas, and Prinsep. It is just a century ago since the Society published in its *Proceedings* the first account in England of Prinsep's transliteration of the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet, a discovery which has meant so much in the advancement of our knowledge of ancient India.

I must not, however, make a speech, for it is not I that you have come to hear to-night.

We must proceed with the real business of the evening, and I can only thank you once more.

The President then delivered the following address :

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

My first and most obvious duty is to express my sense of the honour which you did me a year ago when you elected me to be your President. I should hardly have felt justified in accepting the position had I realized that it would be necessary for me to make such a heavy draft upon the indulgence which you had indicated your willingness to grant. It was my hope that I should be able to

attend at least every second meeting. As you are aware, circumstances have made it impossible for me to realize even that modest ambition. My delinquency has indeed been so flagrant that it would be idle to attempt an apology. I will only say that I am deeply grateful to the officers of the Society, and particularly to Mr. Webb, for relieving me of the responsibilities normally attaching to the Chair.

The office is one which I should have been proud to hold at any time. That I have been privileged to hold it during the centenary year will always be a matter for special gratification. Our birthday celebrations are to come later, and in accordance with what I understand to be the wish of the Council I propose to reserve until then the congratulatory reflections which will be appropriate on such an occasion. To-day I will adhere strictly to precedent and content myself with a brief review of the work and the happenings of the session that is rapidly approaching its close.

The loss which we sustained through the loss of our Royal Patron is fresh in the minds of us all. When the *Proceedings* are issued, those of you who were unable to be present at the meeting at which the Society's Loyal Address to the Crown was adopted will find it printed in full there. Fortunately, if I may use the words of Virgil,

*"primo avulso non deficit alter
aureus, et simili frondescit virga metallo".*

His Majesty King Edward VIII has been graciously pleased to signify his willingness to continue the Patronage extended to us by his two immediate predecessors.

As you will have learned from the Report of the Council, we have likewise to deplore the deaths of six ordinary Fellows. Conspicuous among these are Dr. Julius Cahn, well known in Germany, who had belonged to the Society for more than thirty years, and Dr. A. H. Lloyd, a charming personality, whose name is certain to be remembered as long as there are students of Greek numismatics. Like Sir John Evans and Dr. Imhoof Blumer, he had "two soul-

sides". To many he was the typically upright and successful man of business. To us he was the scholarly and discriminating collector, for whom Greek coins were not merely things of beauty but also real historical documents. I need not speak of the wonderful cabinet, in which he took such genuine delight, for the *Sylloge* is now making it accessible to every one. But I must at least say how deeply I regret that he was not spared to enrich the *Chronicle* with further special studies like that on the coin-types of Selinus, where his intimate acquaintance with the topography of Sicily was so effectively brought to bear upon the question at issue. The thoroughness with which all the relevant factors were considered was typical of the man. It was displayed to great advantage in quite a different sphere when he compiled his monumental history of Christ's College, Cambridge, the foundation with which he was so closely associated in his later years.

Two distinguished names have also dropped out of the list of our Honorary Fellows. Professor Kurt Regling, who had been the recipient of our Medal in 1933, died last year at the comparatively early age of 59. He entered the Berlin Cabinet in 1899 and, when he succeeded Dressel as Director in 1920, his reputation was already securely established at home and abroad. While he was particularly interested in Greek coins and in Renaissance medals, his knowledge of the whole subject was encyclopaedic, and it was as accurate and minute as it was extensive. He wrote much, and whatever he wrote was always worth reading. Even his reviews, and he was an indefatigable reviewer, almost invariably contained something new and valuable. Of his more important works I will mention only his account of the coins of Terina, in which dies were for the first time (I think) employed as an aid to chronological classification, his catalogue of the Warren Collection, *Die antike Münze als Kunstwerk*, *Die Münzen von Priene*, his *Einführung in die Numismatik*, his *corpus* of the coins of Tomis, and his catalogue of the Lanna Collection of Renaissance medals. His output seems all the more remarkable when one

remembers that it was combined with the most strenuous devotion to the organization and arrangement of the splendid collections under his care.

The second vacancy in our roll of Honorary Fellows has been caused by the death of General Max von Bahrfeldt, who passed away unexpectedly on April 11 last at the age of 80, active up to the last. A soldier and a gentleman, keenly interested in his profession, he was no less keenly interested in the study of numismatics. He was made an Honorary Fellow in 1903 and, when the Council awarded him the Medal in 1912, he was already a veteran. So far as I can discover, his earliest publication was a paper on *Römische Consularmünzen in italienischen Sammlungen*, which appeared as long ago as 1877. The title is significant. Roman consular coins were his special subject, and one of the main elements of his success in dealing with them was his unrivalled command of the available material. This he acquired mainly by travel. Beginning as a mere youth with Italy, he had visited every collection of moment in Europe, and had turned to the fullest advantage his retentive memory and his methodical habit of note-taking. The outcome was apparent in 1897, when he produced his *Nachträge und Berichtigungen zur Münzkunde der römischen Republik*, professedly a supplement to Babelon's volumes, but also rich in independent observation. Fourteen years earlier he had edited the posthumous papers of Dr. Karl Samwer on the history of the Roman monetary system down to 200 B.C. Subsequently he wrote on Romano-Campanian coins, the Romano-Sicilian copper of the Republican period, the gold coins of the Dacian king Coson, and *Antike Münztechnik*, as well as on the *Schaulmünzen* of the University of Halle, of which he latterly became an Honorary Professor. But that represents only a fraction of what he accomplished. When he was presented with the Society's Medal in 1912, it was estimated that even then he had as many as 1,400 books and articles to his credit. That huge total must have been arrived at by reckoning his contributions to the *Numismatisches Literatur-*

blatt, a publication of his own which has appeared regularly for 52 years and which has proved most useful, providing as it does a complete conspectus of the contents of books and periodicals in every branch of numismatic science. For long, if I recollect aright, he conducted it almost single-handed. More recently he has had the help of various specialists. The *Blatt* has long been an institution. Let us hope that it will be continued by other hands as a permanent memorial.

Turning now from losses to positive achievements, let me recall some of the topics that have been handled at our meetings. Greek coins have bulked less prominently in our discussions than they sometimes do. But we are indebted to Mr. Dikaïos, Keeper of the Cyprus Museum, and Mr. Robinson for a full description of a very important find of silver Cypriot staters from Larnaca, a hoard buried apparently soon after 500 B.C. It contains not a little new material, which may necessitate a reconsideration of some of the conclusions tentatively advanced regarding this difficult series by Sir George Hill in his British Museum Catalogue. Mr. Dikaïos has also published in the *Chronicle* an isolated stater of Idalium which he attributes to a king called Argalus, an attribution which Sir George Hill rejects on epigraphic grounds. Dr. Milne has sent us the first of what promises to be a valuable series of "Notes" on the Oxford collections, now happily united under his care in the Ashmolean. Pending the appearance of the complete catalogue on which he is engaged, he gives in advance an account of a number of coins of Northern Asia Minor which have either found no place in the "Recueil Général" or are incompletely published there. These pieces are practically all of the Imperial age. Mr. Sydenham transported us to a different world when he showed us an interesting tetradrachm of the Seleucid king Antiochus IV, restruck by Antiochus VI. He made it the basis of some stimulating suggestions, which we shall all welcome the opportunity of pondering when we see them in print.

Mr. Sydenham has also written a paper on the origin of

the Roman *serrati*, which you have already, I doubt not, studied in the *Chronicle*. His explanation of the manner of their production, confirmed as it is by Mr. Lawrence, seems to me convincing: the notches were cut in the blank before striking, not (as I used to believe) in the coin after it had been struck. Mr. Sydenham has further made out a very strong case for classing the serrated *denarii* as provincial issues. On his theory of their connexion with the wheel-amulets I prefer meanwhile to suspend judgement. Mr. Herzfelder is to be congratulated on reducing to order the curious but attractive cistophoric coinage of Hadrian. His article, with its illuminating illustrations, is an excellent example of what can be accomplished by a patient scrutiny of dies. Dr. Karl Pink's "Antioch or Viminacium?" is eminently deserving of the sub-title he has himself bestowed upon it—"a contribution to the history of Gordian III and Philip I". Coins previously assigned to Viminacium, because they are frequently found in the Balkans, he assigns to Antioch, regarding them as a victory-issue, struck in celebration of the defeat of the Persians. He accounts for their occurrence in Central Europe by suggesting that the returning troops brought many of them home. That is but one element in a consistent and intelligible story.

Closely akin in method is Mr. Mattingly's most readable sketch of "The Palmyrene Princes and the Mints of Antioch and Alexandria", which you will have presented to you in the next number of the *Chronicle*. Not many episodes in the history of the Empire make the same romantic appeal to our imagination as does the meteor-like career of Palmyra, and Mr. Mattingly traces its repercussions on the great mints of the East with skill and fullness of knowledge. But the day of the Diocletianic reorganization was fast approaching. Presently it dawned, bringing with it a complete revolution in the system of providing an Imperial currency. And here Mr. Pearce comes upon the scene. His paper on "The *Siliqua* Issues at Treveri from the death of Valens to the accession of Magnus Maximus" fills me

with renewed respect for the almost uncanny fashion in which he threads his way through a bewildering maze of types and legends and Imperial likenesses and mints, to emerge at the end with a whole sheaf of concrete facts. Numismatically he is a dangerous man to differ from, not a man *unius libri*, but a man *unius aevi*, and in his easy mastery of these late issues he has us all at a great disadvantage, unless it be Mr. Webb.

If I am not mistaken, Mr. Pearce's work is going to be increasingly important for the later history of Roman Britain. Its bearing on the hoards which come to light from time to time does not need to be emphasized, and we are becoming more and more alive to the value of the evidence which these may afford. Setting aside a find of *denarii* from Spain and another of "minimissimi" from near Bourton-on-the-Water, we have had no fewer than seven Roman hoards described to us during the period under review, four being dealt with by Miss Robertson, two by Mr. Sutherland, and one by Mr. O'Neil, who has also drawn attention to some points that arose out of an examination of about eighty stratified coins of the fourth century, recovered from a Romano-British building in Gloucestershire. Many of these late bronze pieces were clipped, but the clipping had been done in a much less methodical manner than was apparent in the case of the Theodosian silver coins from Mr. O'Neil's South Ferriby hoard. A curious feature of that hoard, by the way, was that, according to the experts, the earthenware vessel which contained it must have been manufactured some three hundred years before the probable date of burial—a truly remarkable instance of "survival". Miss Robertson's clever reconstruction of a find of silver made at Abergelle as long ago as 1842 will appear in the *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*. Her other papers, as well as those of Mr. Sutherland and Mr. O'Neil, have been, or will be, published in the *Chronicle*. You will have noticed the strange history of the hoard of 491 *antoniniani* from Ham Hill in Somerset. Soon after its discovery, more than a century ago, it was

reburied in the library of Christ Church, Oxford, whence it was quite recently disinterred intact by Mr. Myres.

Byzantium naturally follows Rome, and here I have to record two interesting communications from Mr. Goodacre. One traces the chequered history of Constantine VII, Porphyrogenitus, as reflected in the types and legends of his *solidi*. The other discusses a rare *nomisma* bearing the name of Andronicus, for which various attributions have been suggested. After weighing the different arguments that have been brought forward, Mr. Goodacre decides for Andronicus III, his wife Anna of Savoy, and their son John V. Mr. Walker has been able to tell us of a hitherto unknown Byzantine mint, Scythopolis in Palestine, and to illustrate not only some of its coins as originally issued, but also some that are overstruck with the Koranic formula, thus throwing a gleam of light on the darkness that hangs over the transition from Byzantine to Arab rule in Syria. He has also illuminated another obscure corner by adding at least four, and probably six, new names to the brief list of three which was all that Zambaur could cite as representing the Dynasty of Kilwa, Moslem princes who held sway in East Africa about the fourteenth and fifteenth century. It is satisfactory to know that a selection of their coins has been presented to the British Museum. Other recent Museum acquisitions described by Mr. Walker include some very important Sassanian pieces. More recent memories are awakened by Mr. Whitehead's account of the gold medal struck by Mr Ja'far in honour of Clive's victory at Plassey.

If I have left our own country to the last, it is partly because upon this occasion there is less than usual to say. It is a melancholy satisfaction to us all to know that an appropriate memento of the late Dr. Brooke's work for the British Museum is now in the Medal Room there—a fine specimen of a new variety of the very rare heavy noble. I was unfortunately unable to hear Mr. Derek Allen on the Restoration Coinage of Henry VI of the Tower Mint or Miss Farquhar on Thomas Simon. That both papers were interesting I have no manner of doubt. Neither of them,

however, is yet in type, and I must therefore leave it to my successor to speak of them. We have had before us brief notes by the late Mr. Barnard and by Dr. Milne, the first upon the "Birmingham Halfpence" of the eighteenth century, the second upon the copperplate engraving on which we have had to depend for our knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon coins found at Harkirke in the early years of the seventeenth century. The drawing from which the engraving was made has come to light in a manuscript volume preserved at Oxford, and, on comparing the two, Dr. Milne has noticed that it is the engraver and not the artist who is responsible for some faults that are obvious. This is one more warning against the danger of putting our trust in old-fashioned illustrations. Mr. Derek Allen has given us a detailed account of a hoard of over 4,000 silver pennies from Boynton in Wiltshire, buried probably before the abdication of Edward II. It belongs to a familiar class, more common perhaps in Scotland than in England, the dating of which has become vastly easier than it used to be, thanks mainly to the labours of Mr. Shirley-Fox and his late brother. In this case the proportion of foreign sterlings, though it would be quite normal north of the Border, seems to me to be unusually high for an English find. The mention of foreign sterlings reminds me of the very curious specimen of the issues of Ferry of Lorraine, of which we heard through Mr. Allan, the first example of a foreign sterling modelled on a Scottish coin.

At our meetings our Fellows were, as always, most generous in bringing their treasures for exhibition. This friendly interchange of ideas, if I may call it so, is one of the pleasantest features of our monthly gatherings, and I greatly regret that, dwelling as I do in a far country, I cannot share it more often. For myself and others who live at a distance, the *Chronicle* is the bond of union that holds us all together, and right well does it fulfil its purpose. I am aware that the Editors do not look for compliments. But in this centenary year they will surely pardon me if I congratulate them on the success with which they cater for all

tastes, and on the high standard which they are able to maintain. I doubt whether there is a single one of the stately series of a hundred volumes which is entirely lacking in matter that will repay perusal even to-day. Of how many Societies as small as our own could the same thing be said?

I turn next to the year's publications other than those sponsored by ourselves. Taking our own country first, I must give pride of place to Sir George Hill's treatise upon Treasure Trove, a subject which is of vital interest to all numismatists. To essay even a bald summary of the contents of the book would be hopeless. I can do little more than endorse the claim made for it by the publishers, when they affirm that it "deals exhaustively with the law and practice of Treasure Trove, in all countries, from the earliest times to our own". Its learning and lucidity are what we long ago learned to expect from its author, and so too is the manner in which dry legal details are seasoned by quiet touches of humour and by always strictly relevant anecdotes. It is the literal truth that it surveys mankind from China to Peru, for you will find in it summaries of the laws regulating Treasure Trove at both these extremes as well as in all the states that lie between them. And its range in time is no less ample than its range in space, for after glancing at casual references in Greek and Hebrew literature, it settles down to serious business with the jurisconsult Julius Paulus about A.D. 200, and terminates with the code of Soviet Russia and the most recent regulations of H.M. Treasury. From first to last very little can have escaped Sir George's net, and he has done his utmost to ensure accuracy by enlisting the aid of specialists when he has to traverse unfamiliar regions. As far as possible, however, he has worked independently and, if I may judge from what he has to say about Scotland, he has done so with a measure of success that commands the respect of trained lawyers.

Another notable addition to the shelves of our libraries is the third volume of Mr. Mattingly's *Catalogue of the Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, of which I may say at once that it will enhance the reputation both of its

author and of the Medal Room. It covers the reigns of Nerva, Trajan, and Hadrian, who are respectively represented by 161, 1,109, and 1,951 different specimens, and it appears to me to be open to only one serious criticism. With 102 plates and nearly 850 pages of text it is too bulky to be easily handled. Otherwise the most captious would find little or nothing to cavil at. The maximum of useful information is given about every coin with the minimum expenditure of space, and important examples from other collections are described and illustrated side by side with the London pieces. General questions are discussed at length in the Introduction. Of such questions the two that call for fullest treatment are the chronology of Hadrian's issues and the significance of the immense variety of types which he employed. In both respects Mr. Mattingly has carried us a long way forward, as must be freely admitted even by those who do not see eye to eye with him on every point. In the earlier volumes his conclusions as to mints may occasionally have appeared a little arbitrary to some of us. Here there is no corresponding room for difference of opinion. In the west Rome has the field to itself, as the provincial mints were all closed, while in Asia the few that continued to be active are either certain or by general agreement doubtful.

Mr. Robinson has brought out one, if not two, more parts of the *Sylloge*. The first of these is a further instalment of the volume that is reserved for the magnificent Lloyd collection, to which I have already had occasion to refer. Including as it does such fine series as those of Himera, Leontini, Messana, Segesta, and Selinus, it is at least as great a delight to the eye as either of its predecessors, while the text is as succinct and informative as ever. If I spoke as if the existence of the second part were doubtful, that is because I am not sure whether it is yet in the hands of the public. But it is, in fact, ready, so that you will almost immediately be in a position to enjoy the fine and as yet imperfectly known cabinet which belongs to the University of Aberdeen. Artistically at the opposite pole from the coins reproduced in the *Sylloge* are the Tradesmen's Tokens

that supplied England with small change in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Yet who among us will make bold to say that they are not worthy of such careful study as those of Oxfordshire have just received at the hands of Dr. Milne?

Mr. Walker is happily still on the right side of the Atlantic, but it is under the protection of the Stars and Stripes that he has elected to produce his remarkable little monograph on the coinage of the Second Saffarid Dynasty, which governed Sistan in the tenth century and whose money is known to us through 57 examples. I am not an Orientalist and my commendation is therefore of little moment, but nevertheless I should like to congratulate him on the decipherment of legends that had baffled Codrington and Lane-Poole. Other monographs of the American Numismatic Society deal with topics with which I am more familiar. One of the most interesting results of Mr. S. P. Noe's comprehensive attempt to arrange the double staters of Thurium in chronological order is his conclusion that the appearance of Scylla on the helmet of Athena dates from c. 413 B.C. and is therefore to be connected with the calamitous end of the great Sicilian expedition. Mr. Newell, again, describes five Greek bronze hoards with his customary care and competence. Such records as he provides are bound to be of assistance in the more precise classification of the series represented—in this case, coins of Euboea, of Epidaureus, of Mytilene, of Magnesia ad Maeandrum, and of the Ptolemies. In a fourth monograph Mr. F. O. Waage handles in similar fashion a miscellaneous assemblage of 682 bronze pieces recovered from a well at Megara, apparently an accumulation of votive offerings. A fifth, from the pen of Mr. A. R. Bellinger, brings together the contents of three of the hoards discovered during the excavations at Dura-Europos. They are generally similar in character, comprising tetradrachms, *antoniniani*, and *denarii* from Crispina to Gallienus, and must therefore have been buried about the same time. Professor McDowell's book on *Coins from Seleucia on the Tigris* is in effect a register of the numis-

matic finds made during four seasons of excavation by an expedition organized jointly by the University of Michigan, the Toledo Museum, and the Cleveland Museum of Art. The 347 regal pieces of the Seleucids are hardly numerous enough to provide material for any novel deductions. It may be different when the excavators get below the Parthian levels, in which they have so far been, for the most part, working. The Parthian coins are naturally much more abundant and should perhaps go some way towards elucidating unsolved problems. It is a pity to have to add that the plates are poor.

There is but little time left me to speak of happenings on the Continent. There the chief event of the numismatic year has been the appearance, under Wiegand's editorship, of Part 2 of the volume on Macedonia and Paeonia which has been compiled for the Berlin *Corpus* by Gaebler. Thirty years have elapsed since Part 1 was issued, and in the interval the whole plan has been drastically modified. The attempt at completeness has wisely been abandoned. Instead, we have what is really a scientific commentary on each of the coins included in the admirable and thoroughly representative plates. There are forty of these. Thirty-five of them were prepared as long ago as 1895 under Imhoof's supervision, in itself a guarantee of their excellence. Five others, prepared at the same time, appear to have been jettisoned in order to make room for new varieties. Illustrations are added of a number of modern forgeries, the great majority of them so blatant that there will be no disposition—such as there has been in some recent cases—to appeal against the severity of Gaebler's verdict. The commentary as a whole is such as might be expected from a numismatist whose knowledge of the coinage of the area concerned is profound. One may hope that the Berlin Academy may be encouraged to proceed with the issue of further volumes on the same lines. It is believed that Regling left much manuscript material almost ready for the press.

It is as yet difficult to form a considered judgement regarding the value of Bosch's *Kleinasiatische Münzen der*

römischen Zeit, as all that has appeared is Part 2 of the section covering Bithynia. I cannot, however, help wondering whether he has not underestimated the magnitude of his self-imposed task. Robert's *Études de géographie antique* drives home the lesson that Sir W. M. Ramsay has so constantly striven to teach. The author's identification of a number of sites in Western Asia Minor demonstrates the importance of the part that coin-evidence has to play, but at the same time makes clear that coins alone are not enough, and that the fullest account must also be taken of inscriptions, texts, and monuments. It is unfortunate that the plates should be disappointing. Last of all, I am regretfully compelled to restrict myself to a bare mention of Professor Alföldi's exhaustive analysis of the dress and insignia of the Roman Emperors, a paper in which excellent use is made of the numismatic testimony.

This brings my hurried survey to a close. It only remains to thank you for the patience with which you have listened to me, and to express the hope that my successor of a hundred years hence will be able to look back on a second century of work not less fruitful than the century we are now viewing in retrospect.

Mr. Percy H. Webb proposed and Rev. E. A. Sydenham seconded a vote of thanks to the President for his Address.

The President then announced the result of the Ballot for office-bearers for 1936-7 as follows :

President.

PERCY H. WEBB, Esq., M.B.E.

Vice-Presidents.

V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, Esq., M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.

PROFESSOR SIR CHARLES OMAN, K.B.E., M.A., D.C.L., LL.D

Treasurer.

G. C. HAINES, Esq., F.S.A.

Secretaries.

JOHN ALLAN, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

HAROLD MATTINGLY, Esq., M.A.

Foreign Secretary.

WILLIAM GILBERT, Esq., M.S.A.

Librarian.

FREDERICK A. HARRISON, Esq., F.Z.S.

Members of the Council.

H. J. DAKERS, Esq., M.A.

LADY EVANS, M.A. (Oxon. and Dubl.).

HENRY GARSIDE, Esq.

HENRY PLATT HALL, Esq.

LEOPOLD G. P. MESSENGER, Esq.

CHARLES CHICHELE OMAN, Esq., M.A.

E. S. G. ROBINSON, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

REV. E. A. SYDENHAM, M.A.

JOHN WALKER, Esq., M.A., M.R.A.S.

R. B. WHITEHEAD, Esq., M.A., F.A.S.B., M.R.A.S.

The President, having proposed a vote of thanks to the auditors and scrutineers, adjourned the Society till October 15.

CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS.

IN anticipation of the Centenary of the Society, which was founded on June 27, 1836, a committee consisting of the President, Mr. Percy H. Webb, the Treasurer, Mr. G. C. Haines, the Secretaries, Messrs. J. Allan and H. Mattingly, and Mr. John Walker was appointed by the Council on the suggestion of Mr. Webb on Feb. 21, 1935, to consider what form the celebrations should take. It was decided that an International Numismatic Congress under the aegis of the Commission Internationale de Numismatique should be held in London on June 30—July 3, 1936, and that its transactions be published; that a medal should be struck to commemorate the Centenary, and that a dinner be held.

THE CONGRESS.

The Congress was held at University College, Gower Street, and was opened at 10 a.m. on June 30 by the President of the Congress, Sir George Macdonald, K.C.B., M.A., LL.D., D.Litt., F.B.A., P.S.A. (Scot.), President of the Royal Numismatic Society.

After thanking those delegates who had presented addresses and other messages of congratulation to the Royal Numismatic Society, and stating that these would be more fully and more formally acknowledged elsewhere, the President said :—

Ladies and Gentlemen,

This morning I do not propose to detain you for more than a very few minutes. I know you are anxious to get to work with as little delay as possible. But it would hardly be courteous to allow the Congress to break up into Sections without taking advantage of this opportunity to extend a very cordial welcome to you all, and particularly to those who have come from a distance.

The occasion of our meeting has a twofold interest. In the first place it signalizes the revival, after many days, of a gathering that has been too long in abeyance. The first

International Congress on Numismatics was held at Brussels in 1891. The intention of the promoters was that it should reassemble at regular intervals of ten years. In point of fact, the Second Congress anticipated the normal date by twelve months. The original arrangement was that it should meet in Paris in 1901, but it was summoned for 1900, in order that it might synchronize with the holding of an International Exhibition. In 1910 Brussels hospitably entertained the third Congress, as it had hospitably entertained the first. Since then the record has been a blank. In 1920 the wounds of war were still too gaping. By 1930 the post-war economic storm was raging everywhere. Unfortunately it has not yet subsided. But—and this is the second feature of interest—in 1936 the Royal Numismatic Society completes the hundredth year of its existence, and it seemed to the Council that a resuscitation of the International Congress would be an appropriate form of centenary celebration.

As you will see from the printed list, the response to the Council's invitation has been most gratifying. Acceptances have been received from various foreign governments, from numerous learned institutions and societies at home and abroad, and from many individual scholars all over the world. In addition, not a few letters of regret—apologies for absence, shall I call them?—have reached us from regions as far apart as America and India, Germany and Palestine, Holland and Australia, Hungary and Switzerland. All without exception wish the Congress well. In some cases the reason for declinature is the lack of any suitable delegate who could make it convenient to come. Unhappily in too many others the responsibility has been quite frankly laid on economic stringency and the present-day obstacles to travel.

We fully realize the cogency of such excuses, and this realization materially increases our appreciation of the effort which those who are actually here must have made to surmount the difficulties in the way. Their presence is one

more proof of the consoling truth that in the realm of scholarship there are no customs-barriers at the frontiers, no currency regulations to hamper the free interchange of ideas, no demand for any passport other than that of a common intellectual interest. Apart from such positive contributions as they may make to knowledge, Congresses like this have a value of their own, inasmuch as they provide a meeting-ground for men of goodwill from every nation. In their own way they can hardly fail to do something towards alleviating the *malaise* that has laid its heavy hand so calamitously upon Europe. I am sure we all pray Heaven that this Congress may do its share of the beneficent work.

Ladies and Gentlemen, you have before you a most varied and interesting programme—one in which no numismatist will find it hard to discover an abundance of appetizing and nutritious fare. I would ask you now to divide into Sections, and I beg to wish you Godspeed in your labours.

M. Victor Tourneur as President of the Commission Internationale de Numismatique spoke on behalf of the guests, and said :—

Mesdames, Messieurs,

En ma qualité de dernier survivant du bureau du Congrès international de Numismatique de Bruxelles, 1910, j'ai l'honneur de vous transmettre la mission qui nous avait été confiée alors.

Malgré les vingt-cinq ans qui se sont écoulés depuis, je suis heureux de constater la présence dans cette enceinte de plusieurs membres du dernier congrès : MM. A. Blanchet, Forrer, Linderg, Visart de Bocarmé et de Zakrzewski.

Le dernier Congrès eut de féconds résultats : grâce au vœu qu'il émit alors, la numismatique a passé maintenant à peu près dans tous les pays parmi les matières de l'enseignement universitaire. Elle n'est plus considérée comme un passe-temps frivole ; elle a vu augmenter la considération dont elle est l'objet.

D'autre part, notre dernier Congrès a réglé diverses questions de terminologie qui sont d'importance pour la rédaction de nos travaux.

Je salue aussi le Congrès de Londres au nom du Comité international de Numismatique dont votre représentant parmi nous avait demandé le patronage. Permettez-moi d'adresser un souvenir ému à la mémoire de notre collègue si sympathique, M. Brooke, qui a été enlevé à la science en pleine maturité, alors qu'il avait encore tant d'excellents travaux à produire.

Je saisisrai aussi cette occasion pour vous remercier de l'hospitalité qui a été accordée à notre comité dans les locaux de l'Historical Society. Nous avons pu y travailler utilement et nous soumettrons au Congrès l'un des desiderata qui y ont été formulés.

Messieurs, au nom du Comité international de Numismatique, au nom de la Société royale de Numismatique de Belgique, au nom de l'Université libre de Bruxelles et du Gouvernement belge, que je représente ici officiellement, je forme les meilleurs vœux pour la réussite du Congrès international qui s'ouvre.

The following addresses of congratulation were presented to the Society:—

From the University of Cambridge.

UNIVERSITAS CANTABRIGIENSIS
SOCIETATI REGIAE NUMISMATICAE
SALUTEM

Primus omnium Antiquorum Xenophanes ille Colophonius de nummis scripsisse dicitur, philosophus in rebus et divinis et humanis peracutus. Quem secuti multi iam philosophi de re nummaria disseruerunt, dum Plato in Legibus suis usum nummorum concedit; dum magnus ille Aristoteles scriptis multis pecuniae originem investigat et typos nummorum exhibet; dum canis ille acerbus Diogenes discipulos monet, parabola usus, τὸ νόμισμα παραχαράξαι.

Nulla sodalitas, ut credimus, vestrae anteit aut excellit in hoc studio. Verba enim Ovidii poetae ingeniosi, qui et ipse nummum arbitratus est carmine dignum, vos libris vestris inscripsistis "Factum abiit monumenta manent"; multique ex sodalibus vestris industria scientiaque usi maxime e nummis, quae saepenumero rerum antiquarum monumenta sola restant, historiam eduxerunt. Nos ergo, quos decet omnium amicos esse qui litteras amant humaniores scientiamque promovent, gratulamur vobis centum iam annos in studio tam dilecto emensis, et multa vobis speramus fore saecula eadem felicitate.

Dabamus Cantabrigiae
anno Salutis nostrae mcmxxxvi
die quinto decimo mensis Maii. (Seal)

From the Wiener Numismatische Gesellschaft.

Hochansehnliche Gesellschaft!

Die Wiener Numismatische Gesellschaft bittet auf-richtige und herzliche Wünsche zum 100jährigen Bestehen darbringen zu dürfen. Die erfolgreiche Tätigkeit, die Ihre Gesellschaft auf allen Gebieten der Münzkunde in reichem Masse entwickelt, die ausgezeichnete Publikation, die von ihr herausgegeben wird, haben die Numismatiker aller Länder mit Bewunderung erfüllt. In Wien denken wir gerne der angenehmen Zusammenarbeit die in der gegenseitigen Auszeichnung prominenter Mitglieder ihren Ausdruck gefunden hat. Der Vorstand hat zwei seiner Mitglieder, die an dem Kongress teilnehmen, beauftragt, seine Glückwünsche vorzubringen und zwei Medaillen zu überreichen.

Wien, 20. Juni 1936.

Eduard v. Zambaur
August von Loehr.

The medals referred to are a specimen in silver of the medal struck to commemorate Dr. Luschin von Ebengreuth's entrance upon his 90th year.

Obv. Bust r.: DR. ARNOLD RITTER VON EBENGREUTH, 26 August 1841: *Fec. A. Hartig.*

*Rev. DEM ALTMEISTER DER MÜNZKUNDE ZUM
EINTRITT INS 90. LEBENSJAHR, 1930.*

and a plaque, also by A. Hartig, commemorating the fifth German Numismatic Conference in Vienna.

*Obv. View of Vienna: 5TER DEUTSCHER MÜNZ-
FORSCHERTAG WIEN 1928.*

From the Académie Royale d'Archéologie de Belgique.

Anvers, le 28 Juin 1936.

Messieurs,

L'Académie Royale d'Archéologie de Belgique se trouve infiniment honorée de pouvoir s'associer, par l'intermédiaire de son délégué officiel, aux cérémonies du Congrès International de Numismatique et au Centenaire de la Royal Numismatic Society.

Elle prie les Institutions savantes d'Angleterre d'agréer à cette occasion son hommage le plus élevé pour l'admirable activité scientifique dont elles ne cessent de faire preuve, et forme des vœux confraternels pour la poursuite inlassable et heureuse de cette activité.

Pour l'Académie

Le Délégué

Le Secrétaire

ancien Président

Paul Rolland

Albert Visart de Bocarmé

From the Université Libre de Bruxelles.

L'Université libre de Bruxelles à la
Royal Numismatic Society à Londres

L'Université libre de Bruxelles tient à s'associer cordialement à la célébration du centenaire de la Royal Numismatic Society.

Elle rend hommage à l'activité scientifique déployée par cette compagnie, spécialement dans les travaux publiés dans la Numismatic Chronicle, et forme les vœux les plus sincères

pour la réussite du Congrès international de Numismatique organisé à l'occasion du jubilé de la Société.

Bruxelles, le 28 juin 1936.

Le Président du Conseil

Le Recteur

d'Administration

A. Dustin

Paul Hyman

Le Secrétaire de l'Université

A. de Hertogh.

From the Catholic University of Louvain.

L'UNIVERSITÉ CATHOLIQUE DE LOUVAIN, qui dès 1928 ouvrit dans sa Faculté de philosophie et lettres une chaire de numismatique, s'associe avec sympathie à la célébration du centenaire de la fondation de la ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

Elle rend hommage en particulier à la science des collaborateurs et des directeurs de la Numismatic Chronicle, qui depuis de nombreuses années est hautement appréciée dans le monde de l'érudition.

Elle adresse à la Société jubilaire ses vives félicitations et ses vœux très sincères.

M. Hoc

P. Ladeuze

Délégué de l'Université

Rect. Univ.

From the Société Royale de Numismatique de Belgique

A MESSIEURS LE PRÉSIDENT ET MEMBRES DE THE ROYAL
NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Messieurs,

La Société royale de Numismatique de Belgique est heureuse de s'associer à la célébration du centenaire de votre compagnie.

Dès sa fondation, la Société belge n'a cessé de lier avec vous d'étroits rapports. Des membres éminents de votre compagnie, parmi lesquels nous citerons Mr. John Yonge Akerman, le Dr. John Lee, Dr. Ch. Roach-Smith, Sir John Evans, Dr. Barclay V. Head et bien d'autres, ont été des nôtres et cette tradition n'est pas perdue aujourd'hui.

D'autre part, votre revue, *The Numismatic Chronicle*, jouit dans le monde entier d'une réputation incontestée ; nous rendons un vif hommage aux auteurs qui y ont publié leur travaux, et à la direction de cette publication scientifique.

C'est pourquoi, Messieurs, la Société royale de Numismatique de Belgique vous présente ses félicitations les plus cordiales et forme les meilleurs vœux pour la réussite de votre Congrès.

Le Secrétaire

Le Président

Marcel Hoc

Victor Tourneur.

Bruxelles, le 20 juin, 1936.

From the Royal Danish Coin Cabinet, Copenhagen.

(View of Copenhagen Coin Cabinet.)

SOCIETATI REGIAE NUMISMATICAE

LONDINENSI

NUMOPHYLACIUM DANIAE REGIUM

SALVTEM PLVRIMAM MITTIT ET

PRO SVMMIS EIVS DE RE NUMISMATICA

MERITIS GRATIAS AGIT

CENTVM ANNIS IAM HONESTE PERACTIS

VOTA FACIMVS

VT MVLTII SIMILES SEQVANTVR

FELICIA SAECULARIA
Two Genii
holding shield
with VOT MULT
CC

* LOND *

GEORG GALSTER.

From the Copenhagen Numismatic Society.

In a case inscribed "The Royal Numismatic Society from
Numismatisk Forening i København" 1836-1936.

The following three silver medals:—

1. *Obv.* Head I. CHRISTIAN JÜRGENSEN THOMSEN
F. 1788 D. 1865. On truncation, LINDAHL
1910.

NUMISMATISK FORENING.

Rev. View of the National Museum:—NATIONAL MU-
SEET I KJØBENHAVN : FØRST SAGERNE
SAA SKRIFTERNE.

2. *Obv.* Bust I. HANS HENRIK SCHON 19. 8. 1858: II.
7. 1929. On truncation H. SALOMON.

Rev. Personification of Numismatics seated examining
a hoard: TIL MINDE OM NUMISMATSK
FORENINGS 50 AARS JUBILÆUM.

27. II. 1935.

3. *Obv.* Bust I. FREDERIK CHRISTIANSEN 1935.
H. SENTWINER.

Rev. As no. 2.

From the Institut de France

INSTITUT DE FRANCE.

Paris, le 12 juin, 1931.

L'ACADÉMIE des INSCRIPTIONS et BELLES-LETTRES,

heureuse de s'associer à la célébration du Centenaire de
la Société Royale Numismatique de Londres, lui adresse
l'expression des vœux cordiaux qu'elle forme pour l'heu-
reux développement de sa prospérité.

A. Coville.

From Das Archäologische Institut des Deutschen Reiches

Hundert Jahre sind vergangen, seitdem Freunde der numismatischen Wissenschaften in London in den Räumen der Königlichen Astronomischen Gesellschaft zusammentraten, um eine eigene Gesellschaft zur Pflege und Förderung der Münzkunde zu gründen.

Die Wünsche und Hoffnungen der Gründer haben sich erfüllt: ein erstes Jahrhundert fruchtbarer Arbeit, weiter Wirkung und wachsender Anerkennung des Wirkens der Königlichen Numismatischen Gesellschaft ist zum Abschluss gekommen.

Von Anfang an entsprach es der Gesinnung und dem Willen der Gründer, dass die antike Numismatik einen hervorragenden Platz in der Betätigung der Gesellschaft einnahm. Immer neue Gebiete der griechischen und römischen Münzprägung erschlossen sich der vordringenden Arbeit der Forscher, die hier in gemeinsamem Streben vereinigt waren, und gerade im Bereiche der antiken Münzkunde des Altertums war der Tätigkeit der Königlichen Numismatischen Gesellschaft die weiteste Wirkung nach aussen beschieden.

Im Bewusstsein der unlösbaren Verbundenheit von antiker Münzkunde und Archäologie beehrt sich daher das Archäologische Institut des Deutschen Reiches, der Königlichen Numismatischen Gesellschaft in London zur Feier ihres hundertjährigen Wirkens seine Glückwünsche darzubringen. Möge ihr das zweite Jahrhundert auch die neuen Wünsche und Hoffnungen erfüllen, die heute bei der Rückschau auf das erste erwachen.

DER PRÄSIDENT DES ARCHÄOLOGISCHEN INSTITUTS
DES DEUTSCHEN REICHES.

Theodor Wiegand.

From the Staatliches Münzkabinett, Berlin.

An die

Königliche Numismatische Gesellschaft

in London.

Das staatliche Münzkabinett im Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum zu Berlin erlaubt sich, der Kgl. Numismatischen Gesellschaft in London

DIE HERZLICHSTEN
GLÜCKWÜNSCHE ZU IHREM
HUNDERTJÄHRIGEN BESTEHEN

auszusprechen. Das Kabinett gibt zugleich der Hoffnung Ausdruck, dass die Gesellschaft getreu ihrer ruhmvollen Vergangenheit auch weiterhin ihre wissenschaftlichen Bestrebungen erfolgreich fortführen möge.

BERLIN, IM JUNI 1936.

Der Direktor des Staatl. Münzkabinetts
i. V.
Suhle.

From the Government of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg.

A Messieurs le Président, Conseillers et Membres de la
ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY de Londres.

Messieurs,

A l'occasion de la célébration du centenaire de la fondation de votre Corporation, le Gouvernement du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg tient à vous adresser ses félicitations les plus chaleureuses.

Il est d'autant plus heureux de s'associer à la commémoration de ce bel anniversaire que l'histoire de la numismatique anglaise présente, pour le quatorzième siècle, d'étroits rapports avec celle du Luxembourg. Jean l'Aveugle ne s'est-il pas intéressé de très près à l'activité monétaire des ateliers anglais? Et les *pennies* des rois Édouard I^{er}, Édouard II, et Édouard III n'ont-ils pas retenu l'attention de notre comte à un point tel que les historiens de la numismatique de notre pays n'auraient pu décrire de façon quelque peu complète la frappe des esterlins de Jean l'Aveugle sans les travaux de H. P. Earle et J. Shirley-Fox, de Sir George Macdonald, du Dr. L. A. Lawrence et de G. C. Brooke?

Les numismates luxembourgeois suivent donc avec grand intérêt les fructueux travaux de la *Royal Numismatic Society*. Aussi le gouvernement Grand-Ducal forme-t-il les vœux les plus ardents pour que votre Compagnie puisse longtemps encore, par l'admirable activité de ses membres et par la publication de sa précieuse *Numismatic*

Chronicle, contribuer à l'avancement de la Science Numismatique.

*Le Ministre d'État Président du Gouvernement
du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg
Bech.*

Luxembourg, le 25 Juin 1936.

From the Coin Cabinet of the University of Oslo.

SOCIETATI NUMISMATICAE REGIAE
ANGLORVM

NUMMOTHECA VNIVERSITATIS
REGIAE FREDERICIANAE
NORVEGORVM

S.P.D.

SOCIETATI ILLVSTRISSIMAE TOTO ORBI TERRARVM INCLVTAE,
CENTVM ANNOS IAM GLORIOSE PERACTOS EX ANIMO GRATVLA MV
ET PRO SALVTE VESTRA SOLLEMNIA VOTA FACIMVS.

VTINAM SEMPER VIVAT, CRESCAT, FLOREAT, SOCIETAS NUMIS-
MATICA REGIA! VTINAM DOCTRINAM ET HISTORIAM NUMMORVM
SEMPER TVEATVR ATQVE PROMOVEAT SICVT VSQVE AD HVNC
DIEM ET TVITA EST ET PROMOVIT!

DABAMVS OSLOAE MENSE IVNII A.D. MCMXXXVI.

Hans Holst
PRAEFECTVS

M. Braflie
AB EPISTVLIS.

From the University of Cracow

Cracovie die 19 mensis Iunii 1936.

Universitatis Iagellonicae Cracoviensis
Rector et Senatus, eiusdem Universitatis Facultatis
Philosophicae Decanus et Professores Regiae Societati
Numismaticae Londinensi salutem plurimam dicunt.

Ad Internationalem Numismaticorum Congressum,
qui nunc Londini habetur, et ad sacra saecularia Regiae
Societatis Numismaticae Londinensis celebranda invitati
pro invitatione benevola sinceram gratias agunt, Congressus

participes ut quam uberrimos fructus laboris indefessi percipiant, omnibus votis prosequuntur, Societati ipsi viginti lustra sollemniter obeunti omnia fausta et prospera precantur. Quae ut ad maiorem Anglorum scientiae gloriam nec non ad studia nummorum colenda ac promovenda crescat et invalescat, ab imo pectore optant et ominantur.

h.t. Facultatis
Philosophicae
Decanus
T. Lehr-Sptawinski.

h.t. Universitatis
Jagellonium Rector
Magnificus
Stanislaus Maziarski.

*From the Royal Swedish Academies of History and
Antiquities.*

In a case inscribed

REGIA ACADEMIA
LITTERARUM HISTORiarum ANTIQUITATUM
SVECIAE.

REGIAE SOCIETATI NUMISMATICAE
V. NON. IUL. MCMXXXVI.

A set in silver of the following medals struck by the Academy.

1. *Obv.* Bust of Queen Louisa Ulrica (1720-82), foundress of the Academy: LUDOVICA ULRICA D. G. REGINA SVECIAE.

Rev. Three wreaths on a table: CERTAMEN LITERAR. CONSTIT. MDCCLIII.

(This medal in gold by D. Fehrman is the "grand prix" of the Academy.)

2. *Obv.* Crown: monogram of Louisa Ulrica.

Rev. ALDELES SWENSKT 1745 around a wreath enclosing a heart.

(This jeton by J. C. Hedlinger was awarded in gold as second prize.)

3. *Obv.* Busts of Gustaf III and his mother Louisa Ulrica.
LUDOVICA ULR. CREATR. GUSTAVUS III. IN-
STAVR. AC. LIT. HUMANIOR.

Rev. Scene symbolizing antiquarian investigation.
SCIENTIA VICTRIX; INVESTIGATIO
ANTIQUITATUM.

(Prize medal by C. G. Fehrman for antiquarian research.)

4. *Obv.* As no. 3.

Rev. Egyptian stele. ORIENTA TEMPORA NOTIS
INSTRUIT.

(Prize medal by C. G. Fehrman in art of inscriptions
and emblems.)

5. *Obv.* As no. 3.

Rev. Sun shining on sundial. LUCIS METITUR PRO
GRESSIBUS.

(Jeton de presence for members by C. G. Fehrman.)

6. *Obv.* As no. 3.

Rev. Similar, but sundial on stand.
(later version of no. 5.)

7. *Obv.* Bust r. VOLTAIRE.

Rev. MANIBUS INDEFESSI QVONDAM MUSARVM QVARVMLIBET
CULTORIS OCTAGENARII VATUMQVE SECVLI FACILE
PRINCIPIS SOCII DESIDERATISSIMI LUGENS CONSE-
CRAT REG. ACAD. LITTERAR. HUMAN. IN SVEDIA.
MDCCLXXXVI.

(Medal by G. Ljungberger, struck in memory of Voltaire by
Queen Louisa Ulrica and Gustav III and sent by the latter
in gold to the French Academy.)

8. *Obv.* Bust r. C. G. ADLERBETH LIB. BAR. CONS.
STAT. EQV. COM. RR. OO.

Rev. Seated female, personification of the Academy.
 NULLI FLEBILIOR; SOCIO DEN MDCCCXVIII R.
 ACAD. LITT. HUM. H. A.

(Medal struck in 1821 by J. Salmson in memory of Baron Adlerbeth (1751-1810) Regius Keeper of Antiquities and Secretary of the Academy.)

9. *Obv.* Head l. BROR EM. HILDEBRAND ANTIQUARIUS REGNI DIR. REG. NUMOPHYLACII.

Rev. Woman holding torch in l. hand, pouring incense on altar; inscribed GENIO POPULI; around
 SECULA VETUSTA IN LUCEM VOCAVIT
 ET REDDIDIT SUIS: POST VIII LUSTRA
 PATRIAE DEDITA AC STUD. ANTIQUIT.
 HIST. ET. NUMISMAT. MDCCCLXXVII.

(Medal by Lea Ahlborn presented to Emil Hildebrand (1806-84) on completion of 40 years as secretary to the Academy.)

10. *Obv.* Bust l. HENRIK SCHUCK OCTOGENARIUS
 DIE II. M. NOV. A. MCMXXXV.

Rev. In square surrounded by a wreath. LITTERARUM ATQUE HUMANITATIS PRINCIPI ACADEMIARUM NOSTRATIUM DECORI.

Around: ACAD. LIT. HUMANIOR. ACADEMIA SUECANA R. ACAD. SCIENT SUEC. ACAD. ARTIUM LIB.

(Medal by E. Landberg given to Professor Schuck on his 81st birthday.)

From the Swedish Numismatic Society (Svenska Numismatiska Föreningen).

Case of silver medals of distinguished Swedish numismatists.

1. *Obv.* Bust r. ELIAS BRENNER FÖDD 1647 DÖD 1717.

Rev. SVENSKA NUMISMATISKA FÖRENINGENS ÅRSMÖTE 1878 in oak wreath.

2. *Obv.* Bust r. CARL REINHOLD BERCH | FÖDD
1706 DÖD 1777.
Rev. As no. 1, but 3DJE ÅRSMÖTE 1875.
3. *Obv.* Bust r. FREDRIK SILVERSTOLPE FÖDD 1772
DÖD 1812.
Rev. As no. 1, but 12TE ÅRSMÖTE 1884.
4. *Obv.* Head r. NILS KEDER F. 1659 D. 1735.
Rev. As no. 1, but date 1874.
5. *Obv.* Bust r. JONAS HALLENBERG, FÖDD 1748
DÖD 1839.
Rev. As no. 1, but 4DE ÅRSMÖTE 1876.
6. *Obv.* Head r. CARL JOHAN TORNBERG FÖDD 1807
DÖD 1877.
Rev. As no. 1, but in loose laurel wreath and 6TE
ÅRSMÖTE 1878.
7. *Obv.* Bust l. BROR EMIL HILDEBRAND FÖDD 1806
DÖD 1881.
Rev. As no. 6, but 13DE—1885.
8. *Obv.* Head l. AUGUST WILHELM STIERNSTEDT
FÖDD 1812 DÖD 1880.
Rev. As no. 6, but 10DE—1882.
9. *Obv.* Head r. WILHELMUS THEODORUS STRO-
KIRK.
Rev. OB THESAVRVM NVMMORVM PATRIAE
DILIGENTER COLLECTVM MVNIFICEN-
TIA CIVIVM MVSEO GOTHOBVRGENSI
ADDITVM MDCCCLXXII.
(Nos. 1–9 by A. Lindberg.)
10. *Obv.* Bust l. BROR EDVARD HYCKERT FÖDD 1848
DÖD 1910. (By S. Kulle.)
Rev. Inscr. as no 1, but 1914, in close laurel wreath.

11. *Obv.* Bust l. HANS HILDEBRAND F. 1842 D. 1913.
Rev. As no. 10, but 1913. (By E. Lindberg.)
12. *Obv.* Bust l. VIKTOR EDVARD LILIENBERG F.
 1839 D. 1910. (By S. Kulle.)
Rev. SVENSKA NUMISMATISKA FÖRENINGENS
 50 ÅRSJUBIL 1923 on square plaque in wreath.
13. *Obv.* Bust facing. ROBERT WILHELM HART-
 MAN F. 1877 D. 1897.
Rev. As no. 12, but ÅRSMÖTE 1931.
14. *Obv.* Bust facing. ASTLEY LEVIN F. 1852 D. 1931.
Rev. As no. 12, but 1933.
15. *Obv.* Bust facing. OLOF HALLBORG F. 1815 D. 1901.
Rev. As no. 12, but 1923. (By S. Kulle.)
16. *Obv.* Bust r. CARL ANTON OSSBAHR 1859-1925.
 (By Gösta Carell.)
Rev. Sword. VAPENFORSKARE MEDALKÄN-
 NARE; SV NUM FÖR 1935.
17. *Obv.* Bust l. MAGNUS EMAN. LAGERBERG.
Rev. SVENSKA NUMISMATISKA FÖRENINGEN
 STIFTAD 1873. (By A. Lindberg.)
 PÅ FÖRSLAG AF MAGNUS LAGERBERG |
 laurel branches | 40th ÅRSMINNET FIRADT
 1913.

From the Regia Societas Scientiarum Uppsaliensis

The Royal Society of Sciences of Upsala sends the best
 congratulations on account of the celebration of the cen-
 tenary of the Royal Numismatic Society of London.

Göthlin, President.

Bergstrand, Secretary.

Messages of congratulation on the centenary of the Society had previously been received from the University of Amsterdam, the Boston Numismatic Society, the University of Vermont, the Polish Academy of Letters and Science, the Royal Hungarian Stefan Tisza University of Debrecen, the Detroit Coin Club, the Frankfurter Numismatische Gesellschaft, the Grazer Numismatische Vereinigung, the Karl Franzens University of Graz, the University of Groningen, the University of Nijmegen, the Oldenburger Verein für Landesgeschichte und Altertumskunde, the University of Western Australia.

The Congress then broke up into sections at which the following papers were read or presented during June 30 — July 3:—

Section I—GREEK.

SIR GEORGE MACDONALD: (*Presidential Address*). FIFTY YEARS OF GREEK NUMISMATICS.

PROF. B. ASHMOLE: The Relation between Coins and Sculpture.

M. JEAN BABELON: Artemis Pergaia on the Coins of Perga.

MRS. BALDWIN BRETT: The Aphlaston Symbol of Naval Victory on Greek and Roman Coins.

PROF. E. BOEHRINGER: Einige Münzen von Leontini.

MR. H. A. CAHN: Les influences régionales dans le style des monnaies grecques archaïques.

MR. STANLEY CASSON: The Technique of Greek Coin Dies (Section I).

PROF. S. L. CESANO: (a) Un bronzo coloniale di Mammea per Mallos di Cilicia.

(b) Piccolo ripostiglio di argento cartaginese e dei Bretti da Belmonte Calabro.

DR. FR. HEICHELHEIM: Wirtschaftshistorische Beiträge zur klassischhellenischen und zur hellenistischen Münzstatistik.

SIR GEORGE HILL: A Hoard of Jewish Shekels of the First Revolt.

- DR. PH. LEDERER: Eine verschollene Bronzemünze von Syrakus.
- DR. J. G. MILNE: Notes on the Use of Coins for the Teaching of Greek and Roman History.
- M. O. RAVEL: Corinthian Hoard from Chiliomodi.
- DR. W. SCHWABACHER: A Hoard of Archaic Coins from Samothrace.
- MR. C. T. SELTMAN: Diogenes of Sinope.
- MR. H. E. STAPLETON: The Coinage of the Channel Islands.
- MR. WIESINGER: Anmerkung zu einem kimonischen Tetradrachmon.

Section II—ROMAN.

- PROF. ANDREAS ALFÖLDY: The Isis Festivals of the Fourth Century: the last official toleration of pagan ceremony.
- PROF. FRANZ ALTHEIM: The First Silver Coinage of Rome (with a short introduction by Mr. Harold Mattingly).
- M. JEAN BABELON: A Gold Medallion of Maximin Daza.
- MRS. BALDWIN BRETT: (see Section I).
- M. JEAN GAGÉ: Les monnaies de Philippe relatives aux jeux du millénaire de Rome.
- MR. HUGH GOODACRE: Byzantine Studies: (1) "Concordia Augustorum" under Arcadius; (2) Gold issues of Leo III and Constantine V.
- SIGN. LODOVICO LAFFRANCHI: The Legionary Coins of Gallienus.
- MR. HAROLD MATTINGLY: The Occasion of the Legionary Coins of Victorinus.
- DR. GUNNAR MICKWITZ: The Copper Inflation in the years following the death of Diocletian.
- MR. J. W. E. PEARCE: The Reign of Theodosius I: coins and history.
- DR. KARL PINK: The Study of Mints of the Empire.
- MR. HUMPHREY SUTHERLAND: The Radiate Minimi.
- REV. E. A. SYDENHAM: Problems of the Early Roman Denarius.

Section III—MEDIEVAL and MODERN.

- M. A. BLANCHET: Les vicissitudes de la monnaie en France jusqu'au XIX^e siècle.
- M. A. DIEUDONNÉ: La concession du droit de monnaie à Savary de Mauléon par le roi d'Angleterre, duc d'Aquitaine.
- MR. L. S. FORRER: The Coinage of Guatemala.
- MR. G. GALSTER: Danish Treasure Trove.
- DR. W. HÄVERNICK: Welches Material kann die Numismatik zur Feststellung der Verkehrsgebiete in Deutschland im XII. und XIII. Jahrhundert liefern?
- M. MARCEL HOC: Le change des monnaies anglaises aux Pays-Bas à l'époque moderne.
- DR. H. HOLST: *Moneta* in Old English, Mót (Peningr) in Old Norwegian Coin Inscriptions.
- PROF. A. v. LOEHR: International Work in the Numismatic Field.
- DR. B. THORDEMAN and Mr. N. L. RASMUSSEN: Die schwedischen Münzfunde und ihre Bearbeitung.
- PROF. V. TOURNEUR: Les monnaies de type et de poids anglais frappées en Brabant pendant le séjour d'Édouard III à Anvers (1338-40).
- DR. A. WAHLSTEDT: Coin Descriptions as they ought to be.
- PROF. Z. ZAKRZEWSKI: Monnaies moyenâgeuses frappées avec des coins provenant de différents pays.

Section IV—BRITISH and COLONIAL.

- MR. DEREK ALLEN: Ancient British Tin Coins.
- COL. N. T. BELAIEW: On the Geographical Distribution of the Sceattas.
- MR. C. E. BLUNT: New Light on the Silver Coinage of Henry IV.
- MR. F. BROOKS: The Copper Coinage of the British Isles (notes and exhibition).

MR. J. B. CALDECOTT: The Money of the Boy Bishops.

MR. V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON: The Historical Background of the English Siege-pieces of Charles I.

REV. A. MALLINSON: Some rare and unpublished coins of Great Britain in Oxford.

MR. H. E. STAPLETON: (see Section I).

Section V—ORIENTAL.

MR. JOHN ALLAN: The Beginnings of Indian Coinage.

KHWAJA MUHAMMAD AHMAD: New Bahmani Mints.

MR. T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN: A New Species of Purana Coins.

SIR RICHARD BURN: The Law and Practice in dealing with Treasure Trove in India.

PROF. S. K. CHAKRABORTY: Some Notes on the Coins of Bengal.

PROF. E. HERZFELD: (a) Mint Abbreviations on Sassanian Coins.

(b) Some Notes on Old Persian Coin Denominations.

The late DR. A. H. LLOYD: Hoarding of the precious metals in India.

PROF. L. A. MAYER: Some Problems of Mamluk Coinage.

MR. P. THORBURN: A Dinār-i-Jalālī of Akbar.

MR. R. B. WHITEHEAD: Multan: the House of Gold.

MR. H. NELSON WRIGHT: Small Coins of the Early Moghuls.

MR. G. YAZDANI: Some New Mints of the Deccan.

Section VI—MEDALS, MEDALLIONS, ETC.

M. JEAN BABELON: A Bronze Medal of Chaffrey Carles, President of the Parliament of Grenoble.

DR. S. FAIRBAIRN: Medals of the Second French Republic.

COL. M. H. GRANT: English Medallists after the time of George II.

MR. T. SPICER-SIMSON: The Artist in his Relation to Coins and Medals.

M. Ivo UZORINAC: The Medallie Work of Ivo Kerdić.

The papers read will be published in a separate volume.

On the evening of July 2 a Reception was given at Lancaster House by His Majesty's Government to the members of the Congress.

On the afternoon of Thursday, July 2, a number of members took advantage of excursions arranged to visit Oxford or Cambridge.

By the courtesy of the Deputy Master of the Royal Mint many members were shown round the Mint during the Congress week.

The closing session of the Congress was held at 5.30 p.m. on July 3, when Sir George Macdonald presided, and congratulated the members on the success of the proceedings.

On behalf of representatives from abroad, M. Blanchet, M. Galster, Prof. J. Vogt, and Mr. M. Wormser expressed their gratitude to the President for the work he had done during the week and to the Royal Numismatic Society for the organization of the Congress.

CENTENARY DINNER OF THE SOCIETY.

A dinner in celebration of the Centenary of the Royal Numismatic Society was held at the May Fair Hotel on Friday, July 3, at 8 p.m. Sir George Macdonald, K.C.B., the President of the Society, occupied the Chair.

The guests were received by the President.

The following representatives of Museums, learned Societies, and Institutes were present: Professor Victor Tourneur, Conservateur en chef de la Bibliothèque de Belgique; M. Adrien Blanchet, Membre de l'Institut; Dr. August von Loehr, Direktor of the Vienna Bundessammlung von Münzen; M. Marcel Hoc of the Brussels Cabinet des Médailles;

M. Jean Babelon of the Cabinet de Médailles, Paris; Dr. M. A. Evelein, Keeper of the Royal Dutch Collection at the Hague; Prof. J. Vogt of Breslau, head of the German Delegation; Dr. Josef Liegle of the Berlin Münzkabinett and the German Archaeological Institute; Dr. L. Curtius, Director of the German Archaeological Institute in Rome; Dr. H. Holst, Curator of the Oslo University Collection; Mr. G. Galster, Curator of the Royal Copenhagen Collection; Dr. Thorde-man, Curator of the Stockholm Collection; Prof. Fabricius, University of Copenhagen; Mrs. Arthur Strong, Professor of the Pontifical Academy of Archaeology (Rome); M. Ivo Uzorinac of the Numismatic Society of Zagreb; Prof. Alföldy of the University of Budapest and the Hungarian Numismatic Society; Prof. Ferrandis, University of Madrid; Mr. M. Wormser, American Numismatic Association; Prof. Jules Vannerus, Honorary Keeper of the State Archives, Brussels; M. A. Visart de Bocarmé, Royal Academy of Archaeology of Belgium.

There were also present Marchese Gagliardi, Sir Richard Burn, Lady Evans, Sir George Hill, Prof. N. H. Baynes, Prof. Boehringer, Prof. E. Herzfeld, Prof. L. A. Mayer, Prof. Emil Beeker, Prof. T. O. Mabbott and Mrs. Mabbott, Col. H. F. Jourdain, Col. A. H. Burn, Col. M. H. Grant, Col. A. F. Wilberforce-Bell, Major de Laval and Madame la Baronne de Laval, Mr. and Mrs. C. E. Adams, Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad, Mr. and Mrs. John Allan, Mr. Derek Allen, Mr. A. E. Bagnall, Mr. A. H. F. Baldwin, Mr. and Mrs. Baldwin-Brett, Mr. C. E. Blunt, Miss Brooks, Mr. C. J. Bunn, Miss Bunn, Mr. H. A. Cahn, Mr. J. B. Caldecott, Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon, Mr. and Mrs. Morgan Day, Dr. Mildred Evans, Dr. and Mrs. S. H. Fairbairn, Mr. and Mrs. L. S. Forrer, M and Mme. Foundoukidis, Mr. J. Hutton Freeman, Mr. and Mrs. G. C. Haines, Mr. R. E. Hart, Dr. and Mrs. F. Heichelheim, Miss G. Heinrichson, Mr. H. Herzfelder, Mr. and Mrs. Lionel Hewlett, Mr. E. J. W. Hildyard, Dr. Jacob Hirsch, Madame Holst, Mr. B. Holmberg, M. Houzé de l'Aulnoit, Mr. R. Cyril Lockett, Mr. and Mrs. Harold Mattingly, Mr. J. O. Manton, Mr. L. G. P.

Messenger, Mr. Pierce Middleton, Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Notman, Mr. B. H. St. J. O'Neil, Dr. H. Nussbaum, Mr. Ivo Pakenham, Mr. B. W. Pearce, Mr. J. W. E. Pearce, Dr. Karl Pink, Mr. N. L. Rasmusson, M. O. Ravel, Mr. and Mrs. Resch, Mr. and Mrs. E. S. G. Robinson, Miss Robinson, Mr. D. C. Sassoon and Miss Sassoon, Dr. Willy Schwabacher, Mr. and Mrs. T. L. Shear, Mr. and Mrs. J. S. Shirley-Fox, Mr. W. Owston Smith, Mr. and Mrs. T. Spicer-Simson, Mr. David Spink, Dr. H. E. Stapleton, Mr. and Mrs. W. P. D. Stebbing, Mr. and Mrs. C. L. Stocks, Mr. H. W. Taffs, Dr. H. Thomas, Mr. Geoffrey Thompson, Colonel and Madame Axel Wahlstedt, Mr. I. N. G. Wallworth, Mr. J. Walker, M. and Madame A. C. von Weiler, Mr. Percy H. Webb, Mr. and Mrs. R. B. Whitehead, Mr. A. H. Woodward, Dr. Eunice Work, Mrs. M. Wormser, Mr. G. Wüthrich.

The President having given the toast of His Majesty the King, Patron of the Society, and asked the company to drink in silence to the pious memory of the Founders of the Numismatic Society, proposed the toast of "The Royal Numismatic Society". He said—

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is not often that any one has the privilege of asking a festive company to drink the toast of good health and long life to a centenarian. Yet that is my pleasant duty this evening. The Royal Numismatic Society has just brought its hundredth session to a successful close. Its history has been neither strange nor eventful, and yet I think we can claim that as a corporate body we have fulfilled with complete success the function that our founders had in their minds. We have just pledged their memory in solemn silence. I wonder by how many of you that silence would be broken if I were to ask each of you in turn who these founders were.

I am free to confess that, during my own membership of more than forty years, I have been content with a vague impression that they included Akerman and Edward Hawkins and probably Sir Henry Ellis, then Director of the British

Museum. Yesterday, however, knowing that, when I came to speak of them, they would no longer be numbered among the unhonoured dead, I took the opportunity of looking into our early records, which were kindly put at my disposal by Mr. Allan. From these I find that, while all of the three I have mentioned were original members, only one of them was present on June 22nd, 1836, when half a dozen enthusiasts met in a room at Doctors' Commons under the chairmanship of Dr. John Lee and decided that a Numismatic Society should be formed. Hitherto our science had found shelter under the wing of the once all-embracing Royal Society. The six stalwarts—Lee was the moving spirit—felt that the moment had arrived when numismatists should follow the example set by the antiquaries in the end of the eighteenth century, and by the geologists, zoologists, astronomers, and so on in the early part of the nineteenth. They must set up in business for themselves.

The time was evidently ripe for such a move, since the new Society began life with an original membership of 147. From the outset it published a volume annually—at first as the *Numismatic Journal*, but from 1839 onwards as the *Numismatic Chronicle*, which we know so well. As to the feeling of optimism by which it was animated, perhaps you will allow me to read you an extract from the first Anniversary Address, the literary style of which has obviously taken its colour from the environment in which it was delivered—the headquarters of the Royal Astronomical Society, which was for several years our ordinary meeting-place :—

“ Although we are, in a manner, but emerging from a state of chaos, and yet in the twilight of our career, it is gratifying to reflect, that this chaos is composed of homogeneous elements ; that our twilight is that of the morning, holding forth assured and pleasing prospects of rapidly increasing brightness ; and that we may hope to attain a respectable degree of culmination on arriving at our meridian career, and to trace out an orbit which may be creditable to us, when compared with those of the other literary bodies of our national system.”

Well, if we were to follow the apostolic injunction and examine ourselves, how far should we find that these hopes have been realized? It would be ill-omened to suggest that we have arrived at our "meridian career", for in the absence of a Joshua that would imply that the next hundred years were to be years of decline. But I think it may quite fairly be said that we have attained "a respectable degree of culmination". Indeed, to-night the Fellows of the Society may congratulate themselves on being, corporately at all events, a company of patriarchs. There were obvious difficulties in the way of bringing our flocks and herds with us to make good our claim. But some of us at least have brought our wives, and we are surrounded by our descendants in the person of representatives of younger Numismatic Societies from various parts of the world, all come to pay respectful homage to their ancestor. Of these, the nearest to us in age is the Royal Numismatic Society of Belgium, only five years junior to ourselves. The Numismatic Society of France—born, like its representative M. Blanchet, in 1866—we may look upon as grown up. The Vienna Society is three years younger, while the Berlin *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* began publication in 1874. The American Numismatic Society I might describe as being of uncertain age. Others are mere lads, while the infant in arms, founded five years ago, is the Numismatic Society of Zagreb, to whose representative I would extend a specially cordial word of welcome.

You must have noticed that, when an individual reaches, or even approaches, the age of a hundred, he or she is besieged by enquirers anxious to learn the secret of longevity. You must have noticed, too, how widely the answers differ. One declares that the infallible prescription is a life-long abstinence from alcohol and tobacco, while another blatantly proclaims that "beer is best". Glancing back over our record, I feel little doubt as to what our own reply would be. The secret of our success has been the happy co-operation between the Medal Room of the British Museum and the general body of private collectors throughout the country. Without the expert staff of the Medal Room as a permanent leaven, there

would always have been a risk of the chain of continuity being broken, and, without a *clientèle* of outside contributors and interested readers, it would have been impossible to maintain the standard of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, whose existence again has all along been a very real asset to the Medal Room.

We have owed much, too, to the zeal and distinction of some of our more prominent Fellows. We are all delighted to see Lady Evans here, but, even had she not been able to be with us, it would have ill become us not to recall our debt to the family she represents, a family that has been more closely and more honourably associated with the career of our Society than has any other. Sir John Evans became a Fellow in 1849. He was elected President in 1874, and he held the office continuously until his death thirty-four years later. The older among us remember well how deep was his interest in the Society's prosperity, how unfailingly regular was his attendance at its meetings, how numerous and how valuable were the papers he wrote for the *Chronicle*. His son Sir Arthur was quick to follow in his father's footsteps. He has been a Fellow since 1872. Before Crete claimed him for her own, he adorned the pages of our annual publication with brilliant articles on the numismatics of Magna Graecia and Sicily; and even amid the preoccupations of Knossos he has never forgotten his first love but, besides filling the Presidential Chair, has from time to time sent us important communications, notably on the coinage of the later Roman Empire.

I said that Sir Arthur has been a Fellow since 1872. His name has thus been on our roll for 64 years. Nevertheless he is not our *doyen*. That honour belongs to Professor Percy Gardner, to whom some of us have particular reason to be grateful for his teaching, and whom all of us hold in the highest regard as *ultimus Romanorum*, the last survivor of the band who initiated the great British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins in 1873. Professor Gardner joined the Society in 1871. It seems to me that records of sixty-four and sixty-five years, respectively, well deserve a word of special recognition from this centenary gathering.

With your permission I will ask the Secretaries to send to these veteran Fellows a message of friendly greeting in the name of all of us. They could not be with us in person, but I think it may gratify them to be assured that we are anything but unmindful of what they have done for the Society and for the science it exists to promote.

And now I have finished. As befits the occasion, I have spoken only of the past. What the future calls for is not words but deeds. Fill your glasses, then, and prepare to drink the toast of the evening. Long life and prosperity to the Royal Numismatic Society!

Mr. Percy H. Webb, M.B.E., Vice-President, then rose to propose the toast of the Guests, and said:

Mr. President and Fellows of the Royal Numismatic Society,

You have indeed entrusted to me a pleasant duty and I wish, Sir, that I had your eloquence to enable me to discharge it adequately.

I have to propose the health of our guests.

Our Society is old, but by no means outworn or senile. In all its hundred years of life it has had no pleasanter duty than that of inviting our foreign colleagues to meet us at this Congress and no more gratifying experience than the unanimity with which men whose names are "familiar in our mouths as household words" have accepted our invitation. We see them round us in such numbers that I hate to distinguish any of them lest I omit names which equally merit mention. I will, however, name M. Blanchet *doyen* of French numismatists and, if not the sole survivor of the 1891 Congress, certainly the only one who has attended all four.

M. Victor Tourneur, now Director General of the Royal Library in Brussels, formerly Keeper of Coins, whose work on English medals includes the identification of "Stephen van Herwyck," formerly called Stephen of Holland. He holds the office of President of the International Numismatic Committee.

Dr. Evelein, an authority on Roman Holland, from the Hague, recently succeeded M. Van Kerkwyck, who has retired.

Prof. Curtius, of the German School of Archaeology in Rome, a great authority on Roman portraiture.

Prof. Fabricius, from Copenhagen, the eminent Danish archaeologist and numismatist.

Dr. von Loehr, Director of the Vienna Cabinet, and active in the organization of International Numismatic enterprises.

Dr. Liegle, of the Berlin Cabinet, who represents the German Archaeological Institute.

Prof. Alföldy, whose researches into the later Roman Numismatics and history have been so valuable, and who has so liberally placed his great knowledge at the service of us minor men.

Prof. Vogt, Breslau, the head of the German delegation here, who wrote on the coins of Alexandria.

We are indeed glad to see you and I hope that as the evening progresses you will all be "in our flowing cups freshly remembered".

We English are a race of travellers, and there are few of us round these tables to-night who have not in their hearts memories of much kindness and courtesy shown to us in your respective countries. We are not, I hope, an envious race, and the greatest desire of all of us is that Europe and the world may find lasting peace, and that the troubles and uncertainties which have fallen on so many nations may fade away and prosperity return to each and all of us.

And so, Gentlemen, we greet you most warmly and beg you all to carry away the most pleasant memories of this our Congress and of our most hearty welcome to you, and the hopes of all of us for a prosperous future for all countries. We appreciate how much your work has done for the study of our small, but, I think, very important, science, and heartily thank you for it and anticipate its continuance.

In reply Professor Victor Tourneur, Conservateur en Chef of the Bibliothèque Royale Brussels and President of the International Numismatic Committee said:

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I have the honour of speaking in the name of the guests and of the International Committee of Numismatics. But, as my English is too bad to be fully understood, I beg the permission of using my native language.

Ce sont d'abord des sentiments de reconnaissance qui nous animent, reconnaissance pour la manière si cordiale dont *The Royal Numismatic Society* nous a accueillis ici, et pour la réception somptueuse dont nous avons été l'objet.

Ce sont ensuite des sentiments de fierté, en voyant la manière dont la numismatique est honorée par la réunion de cette brillante assemblée.

La Société royale de Numismatique qui fête aujourd'hui son centenaire, par ses publications d'une tenue scientifique irréprochable, a élevé très haut la considération dont est entourée la science qui nous est chère à tous. Nous sommes heureux de l'en féliciter chaudement.

En organisant ce congrès, elle nous a rendu aussi à tous un incomparable service. Les Congrès ont ceci de bon qu'ils permettent à tous ceux qui pratiquent une même discipline de se rencontrer et de faire directement connaissance; on y noue souvent des amitiés durables qui sont profitables aux études, et le présent congrès, en rassemblant l'élite des numismates de bien des pays, a présenté un terrain particulièrement favorable à l'établissement de semblables rapports. C'est à vous, Messieurs, que nous le devons.

Je suis convaincu également que les travaux présentés dans les diverses sections auront sur bien des points fait progresser nos connaissances.

De tous ces résultats, nous devons remercier le Comité organisateur qui s'est dévoué sans mesurer ses peines et qui s'identifie avec votre Société.

Je lève donc mon verre à *The Royal Numismatic Society* qui, quoique centenaire, continue à faire preuve d'une verdeur de printemps; je bois à sa prospérité et à la continuation féconde de son activité scientifique.

Dr. August von Loehr, Direktor of the Vienna Bundes-sammlung von Medaillen, Münzen und Geldsachen, and

Secretary of the International Numismatic Committee, also replied and said:

Meine Damen und Herren,

Gestatten Sie, dass ich die Worte meines Glückwunsches an Ihre Gesellschaft und meines Dankes in die Form einer Danksagung von Person zu Person an die Adresse eines Ihrer prominenten Mitglieder kleide.

Es sind fast genau drei Jahrzehnte her, dass ich im Auftrage des damaligen kaiserlichen Oberstkämmereramtes das Londoner Münzkabinett besuchte, um seine wissenschaftlichen und administrativen Einrichtungen zu studieren und als Vorbild für die Reorganisation der Wiener Münzsammlung zu benützen. Der damalige Keeper dieses weltberühmten Institutes, Mr. G. F. Hill, hat in überaus freundlicher Weise mir die ihm anvertrauten Schätze und Einrichtungen gezeigt und erläutert, und mir für meine Amtsführung überaus wertvolle Ratschläge erteilt. In der Folge sind unsere Beziehungen sehr freundlich geblieben. Wir haben seine fundamentalen Arbeiten namentlich über die italienischen Medaillen mit grösstem Respekt betrachtet und ihm gerne auch unser Material zur Verfügung gestellt.

Dann aber hat sich in einer bitteren Zeit, als nach dem Zusammenbruch der österreichischen Monarchie die Frage der Aufteilung der wissenschaftlichen und kulturellen Schätze des Hauses Habsburg in St. Germain zur Diskussion gebracht wurde, gerade Mr. G. F. Hill, gestützt auf sein grosses persönliches und wissenschaftliches Ansehen, an den entscheidenden Stellen uns Unterstützung und Hilfe angegedeihen lassen und die Zerstörung von Kulturgut vermeiden geholfen. Wir werden ihm dies nie vergessen.

Es ist mir daher eine besondere Freude sagen zu dürfen, dass vor wenigen Tagen die höchste Auszeichnung, die Österreich auf wissenschaftlichem Gebiet zu vergeben hat, Sir George Francis Hill zuteil wurde, nämlich die Wahl zum Mitglied unserer Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Wollen Sie darin nicht bloss einen Akt der Anerkennung seiner wissenschaftlichen Leistung und seiner Person sehen, sondern ein Zeichen der grossen Achtung, die wir Ihnen

wissenschaftlichen Anstalten und Ihren führenden Persönlichkeiten entgegenbringen; unter ihnen nimmt das Londoner Münzkabinett und die *Royal Numismatic Society* einen hervorragenden Rang ein: möge Ihnen reiches Gedeihen beschieden sein.

The health of the Chairman was proposed by M. Adrien Blanchet, Membre de l'Institut, who said:

Ladies and Gentlemen!

Comme délégué de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres de l'Institut de France et aussi comme délégué de la Société française de Numismatique, j'ai déjà, mercredi soir, fait des vœux pour la *Royal Numismatic Society*; mais beaucoup parmi vous n'ont pu les entendre. Pour moi, qui suis membre-honoraire de la Société depuis plusieurs dizaines d'années, c'est une véritable joie de renouveler ces vœux, du plus profond de mon cœur.

J'ai un autre devoir à remplir, devoir qui m'est particulièrement agréable, puisqu'il s'agit d'honorer Sir George Macdonald. Est-il besoin de parler longuement de ses travaux numismatiques? Même s'il n'eût fait que le Catalogue du Musée Hunter, ces trois gros volumes, consultés si souvent avec tant de profit, suffiraient amplement à établir sa renommée. Mais il a touché encore à diverses questions de numismatique anglaise, monnaies et méreaux, et il a dressé des inventaires de monnaies romaines, trouvées de divers côtés.

Et puis, je ne veux pas oublier que Sir George Macdonald est venu à la Grande Archéologie et que son travail sur le mur romain d'Écosse constitue une des plus solides pierres d'assise de sa renommée. D'ailleurs, la Numismatique n'en est pas absente; elle ne l'est pas non plus des précieux rapports sur les découvertes d'antiquités romaines en Angleterre; elle ne l'est pas davantage des sages paroles, prononcées à propos de la céramique romaine, dans un des derniers fascicules du *Journal of Roman Studies*.

Laissez-moi vous conter une histoire antique, que j'ai apprise de Pline l'Ancien.

Alors qu'Auguste était fiancé à Livie, celle-ci reçut sur ses genoux une poule blanche, qui s'était échappée des serres d'un aigle. Cette poule tenait une branche de laurier, chargée de baies. Aussitôt, les haruspices virent dans cet évènement un présage important et ordonnèrent de planter la branche de laurier dans les jardins de la maison de campagne des Césars, sur la "voie Flaminienne"; et c'est de là que provenait le laurier tenu par Auguste dans ses triomphes et aussi la couronne qu'il y porta. Et la tradition se continua pendant une partie de l'Empire.

Je ne veux pas vous mettre, Sir George Macdonald, sur le même rang qu'Auguste: certes, ce serait déjà quelque chose! Mais je prétends que, conformément à l'adage, *Cedant arma togæ*, les créations de l'esprit humain doivent passer avant les désordres de la Politique et de la Guerre!

Vous n'avez pas reçu les lauriers comme Auguste: Vous les avez fait naître, vous-même, au cours d'une carrière de la plus belle probité scientifique, qui fut comme un magnifique jardin!

Et vos lauriers resteront comme un emblème durable et un exemple perpétuel pour les générations futures de la *Royal Numismatic Society*, dont vous êtes aujourd'hui le chef aimé, admiré et respecté.

A vous et à tous, je dis maintenant:

VOTIS FELICIBVS!

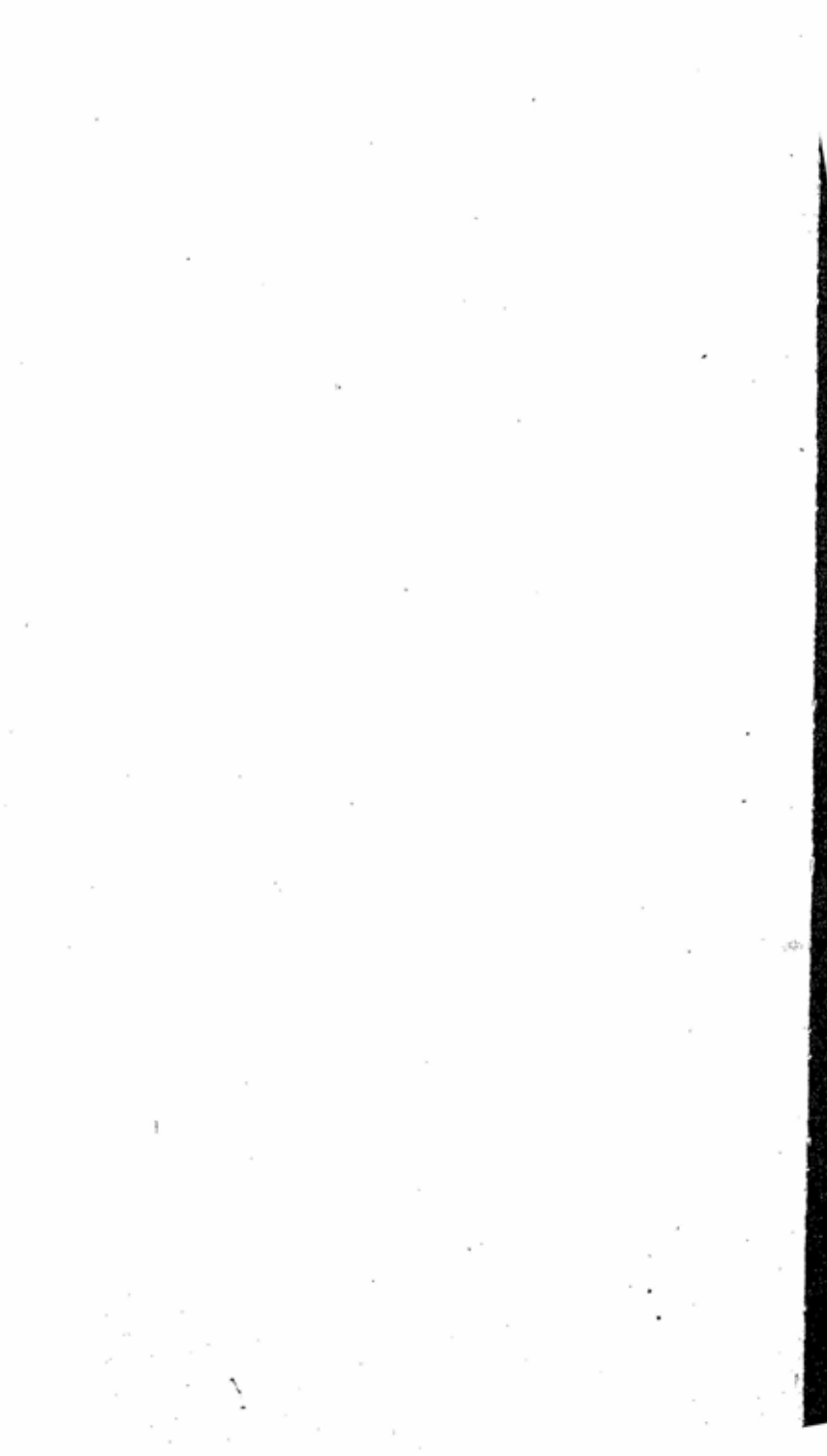
In replying, Sir George Macdonald thanked the Committee which had organized the Congress and other centenary celebrations, in particular, Messrs. Allan, Mattingly, and Walker.

Mr. Allan replied, and the proceedings closed with the singing of "Auld Lang Syne".

CENTENARY MEDAL.



The above is an illustration of the medal struck to commemorate the centenary of the Society. The obverse is that of the Society's medal for distinguished service to numismatics, while the reverse, based on a well-known fourth century Roman type, was suggested by Mr. Mattingly and executed by Mr. John R. Pinches.



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